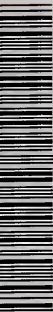


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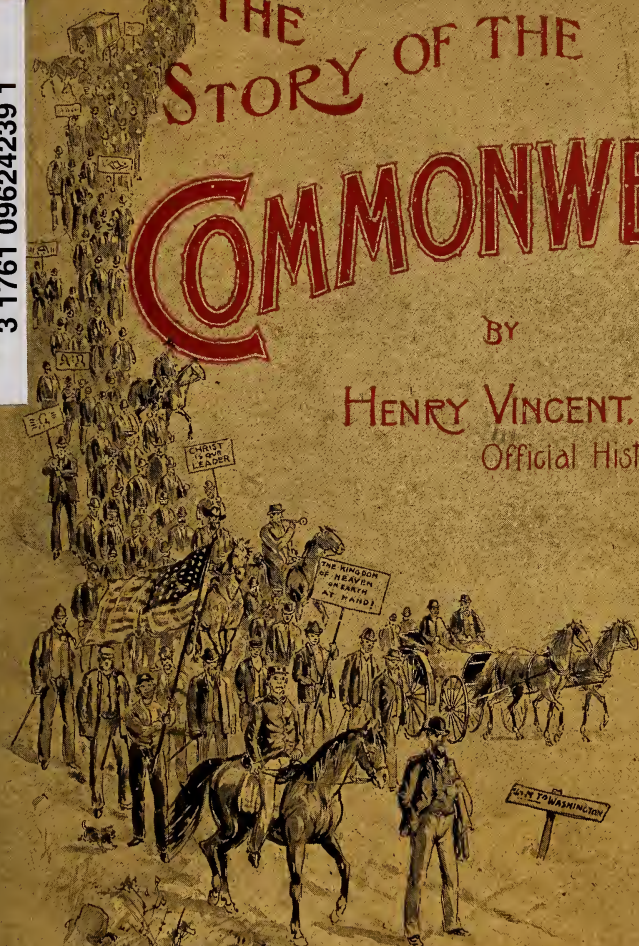
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THE STORY OF THE COMMONWEAL

BY

HENRY VINCENT.

Official Historian.



Published by Authority
of the
COMMONWEAL,

J S Coxe, President.



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THE STORY
OF THE
COMMONWEAL.


COMPLETE AND GRAPHIC NARRATIVE OF THE
ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF
THE MOVEMENT.

SIMILAR MOVEMENTS IN HISTORY—THE MARCH—POR-
TRAITS OF THE LEADERS—OTHER PICTURES—
THE OBJECTS SOUGHT.

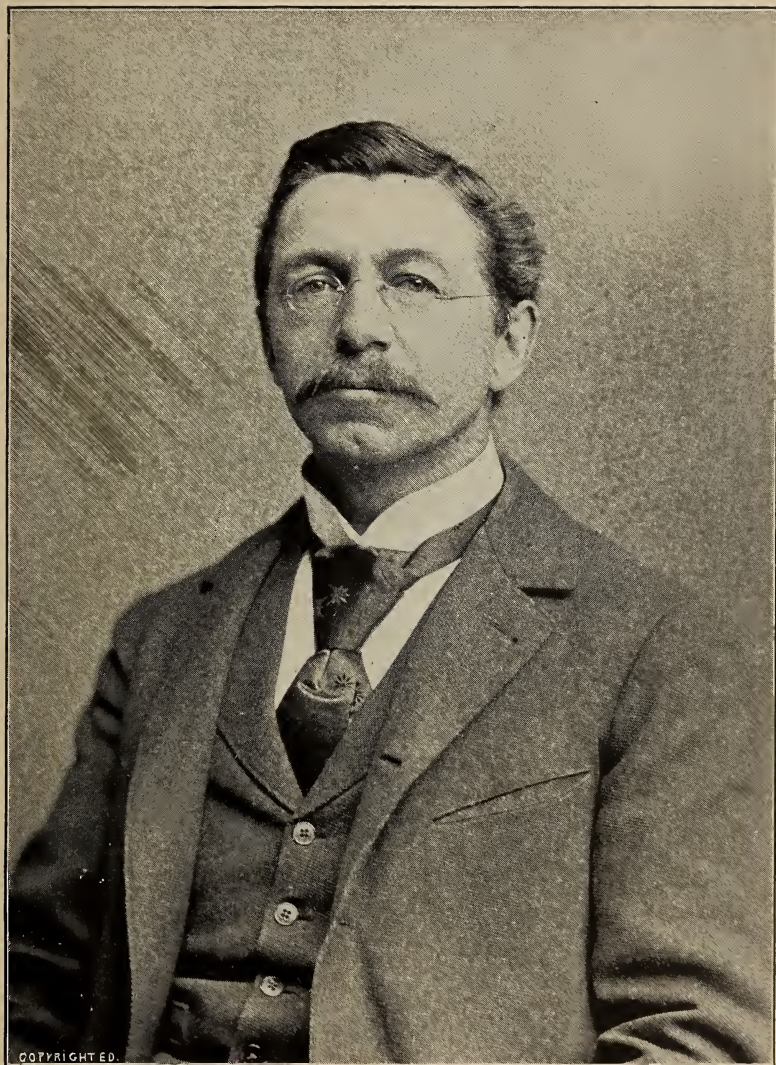
BY
HENRY VINCENT,
OFFICIAL HISTORIAN, OF THE COMMONWEAL.

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J. S. COXEY, ESQ., PRESIDENT OF THE J. S. COXEY GOOD ROADS ASSOCIATION OF UNITED STATES, MASSILLON, OHIO.



CARL BROWNE, SECRETARY THE J. S. COXEY GOOD ROADS ASSOCIATION
OF THE UNITED STATES.

PREFACE.

THIS book is the story of the great industrial movement in the United States, in the year 1894. It has the indorsement of the leaders of the movement in different parts of the country, and consists only of absolute facts; these facts exceptionally complete and full, obtained with unusual facilities and all aid from the leaders themselves. It is written without bias or prejudice, and is presented to the American people as a correct history of one of the most remarkable of movements, one well worth the consideration of every thinking man and woman.

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INTRODUCTION.

I have been asked to write an introduction to the story of the industrial army, or rather armies, the movements of which have, thus far; formed the most striking event in the history of the United States for the year 1894. I respond willingly and readily, because to me this movement appears destined to rank as one of the phenomena of note in the growth of nations. It has been ridiculed beyond all reason. What can be more absurd than a body of men marching across the country to ask the members of Congress to legislate for them in such manner as would make the condition of things better! Theoretically, the men now in Congress are the men whom those who are marching, with others, have selected to make the best laws for them. The whole country is divided into a number of districts, and the one person whom all the other people in the district suppose the most honest and best fitted for the purpose, either in inclination or in ability, is the one who is made their representative; but if, as things are, the best man is not sent to Congress, the ends of legislation are not achieved.

There has been a season of the most extraordinary business depression. There has been a panic, lacking many of the ordinary panic's features. Thousands of men have been out of work, and have gone hungry, as have their families. The condition of things is not yet satisfactory. It is better than it was, but there is not yet the average of prosperity, when all classes are considered. There is a degree of suffering still existing in the entire country, and the conditions still, as many seem to think, call for an abnormal movement to relieve an abnormal situation.

It occurred to one man or group of men—it does not matter which, but all these things somehow center about one man—that if everybody out of work could have work and get even somewhat less than a proper return in the way of wages, the situation would be improved. But men who work for the government must be paid by the government, and there is always a method of doing

these things. The man who suggested the matter suggested also the method. He proposed the issuance of non-interest-bearing bonds—and there is no necessity for explanation here of the exact method of doing this; the matter of bonds having always been a perplexing one to the greatest of thinkers. If the particular method proposed were not the best, perhaps, if the proper spirit were shown, some way might be devised by which the country, as a whole, should raise money to give labor to the unemployed.

It was proposed that good roads should be made all over the United States, that men should always have employment on them; that the country as a whole should pay the wages of the men so employed. Omitting the question or manner of payment, could there, in a general way, be a better suggestion? Good roads everywhere are an absolute necessity and a profitable investment. They are, ordinarily speaking, of equal benefit to everybody. England has good roads; France, Germany, Italy, Austria, all civilized countries, have good roads. It is a matter of time only when this country must come to it, and the United States does things in less time than was required by other nations in other days, and under other conditions.

Suppose the Congress of the United States should decide, in its wisdom, that the whole country should henceforth be constantly taxed to provide all men out of work with employment upon the roads, until all its highways from Maine to California and from Florida to the state of Washington should be perfect. Suppose the daily stipend for such work be made somewhat less than ordinary pay, so that there would be no inducement to linger in such employment, and that a just, proper and decent day's work be ever required in return for this. Would not the country be better off? Would not its material condition be improving day by day? Would not the problem of dealing with the unemployed who are strong and vigorous be dispensed with? Tramps then need no longer be tolerated. Of course the remedy could not last forever, nor could it be held to cover all present needs, but would it not be a step in the right direction? Would not the members of all classes of the community be benefited by it? Of course, there would remain the crippled and infirm, but these we must support anyhow, and to do so is a matter of conscience, religion and duty, and is a part of the scheme of political economy. The thought is only a suggestion, a question as to whether or not in this proposi-

tion so scoffed at, so ridiculed, there is not the germ of a remedy for existing evils which may be good for years?

To ask Congress to consider this proposition, certain bodies of men are converging toward the capitol from various parts of the country. They are daring men, and their conduct has been something remarkable. Consider any popular uprising, and it will be found that this one movement stands almost without a perfect parallel. It is as well to put things as they are. This is not an unintelligent aggregation, hoping to affect for the better the welfare of the country. It is not even a collection of those who, because not long enough in the country, are not yet fully in accord with the pulse and thought of its institutions. It is neither here nor there where a man is born, save that as a man born in Patagonia knows more of Patagonia than any one else, so a man born in America knows more of America than anybody else; but it is a fact worthy of note that one of the officials in power, controlling the actions of one of the railroads directly interested in the movements of one of these armies, was half convinced when he saw the men who wished to be carried, and that he referred to them in an astonished way as ninety per cent. native Americans, and all intelligent!

This is the Washington-seeking force. Of such a body as this is comprised the mass marching upon the National Capitol, to ask something which, in the estimation of those men, is for the good of the country at large—something which they think will prevent dire poverty in a land where there is, to a certainty, enough for everybody, and which will assist toward making life worth living for hundreds of thousands who are less fortunate or less shrewd, though not less honest or earnest or temperate, than those among their fellows who have more than enough. One group of men goes to seek another group of men to consider things with them. The men who compose Congress, which is the lawmaking power, and which is, in one acceptation of the term, the United States, are of course not a lot of vicious, grasping, conscienceless men, as some agitators term them. They are just like other men. They are not much better nor much worse. They are a little shrewder than the average man. because, necessarily, the man elected to Congress must be, under existing conditions, a reasonably shrewd person, but in Congress is quite the usual percentage of honest men—of men doing undoubtedly the best they

can. But the problem to be dealt with is not a simple one. It is one to an extent new in the history of the world. It is a new one, because this is the greatest nation in the world's history; one which has subdued a greater extent of nature than any other nation in the same time; one which is a republic, and therefore presents conditions for legislators to deal with which did not exist in the monarchies that made the history of the past.

Here is a country swept of wild beasts and forests, and peopled with the children of a strong and thinking race. It was all right as long as there were only wild beasts and forests to deal with, but gradually came the thickening of population, the growth of cities—of enormous centers increasing in magnitude. Never before has the world's history seen such swift and enormous growth. That of Chicago, for instance, has been such that the growth of Rome, or London, or Paris, or Vienna, or any other center anywhere, is as the growth of a coral island compared with it. There has come an influx of heterogeneous elements into the population, of human beings from abroad seeking a better place of living. There has come the usual overflow of cities. There has come a drifting group. There has come an entity into the population which, supposing certain conditions, is a suggestion toward the downward drift.

The panic was but an incident in the regular story of human effort in business adventure, which, after rising to a certain point, then becomes too reckless, and must necessarily dip again. Liquidation came, but it came at a time when other causes were at work, also economic, and the confluence has resulted in an abnormal effect, one of which, and the chief one, has been the converging armies of the earnest unemployed toward Washington. The word earnest is used sensibly. The industrial army, despite the cartoons in the comic papers, despite the flippant paragraphs in the dailies, despite what those who have not seen them naturally imagine, does not include that army, scattered all over the country, of those called, generally, tramps. It consists of men who ordinarily work hard, who are now out of work, who have certain ideas of their own, and who count themselves American citizens having equal rights with all other American citizens. These are the men going to Washington in a body to suggest—merely to suggest, with only such degree of demand as would be accorded to them by the most con-

servative—such legislative act, such co-operative course, as they think best. These are the people marching across-country today. They are straightforward, honest Americans, intending no wrong nor disturbance, and intending to ask other Americans, who happen to have been elected lawmakers, to follow a suggested course, and improve a situation admitted bad by everybody. A man's face is his fortune, to a great extent, just as it was that of the pretty girl in the song, and these men's faces, together with their demeanor, whether in the army of Coxey, or Kelly, or Frye, or any other of the various leaders, have impressed the communities with their quality, have made converts and brought accretions, have resulted in procuring sustenance, and have made this great force, springing into being as a novelty, existing as a novelty, converging toward a common center, wax instead of wane.

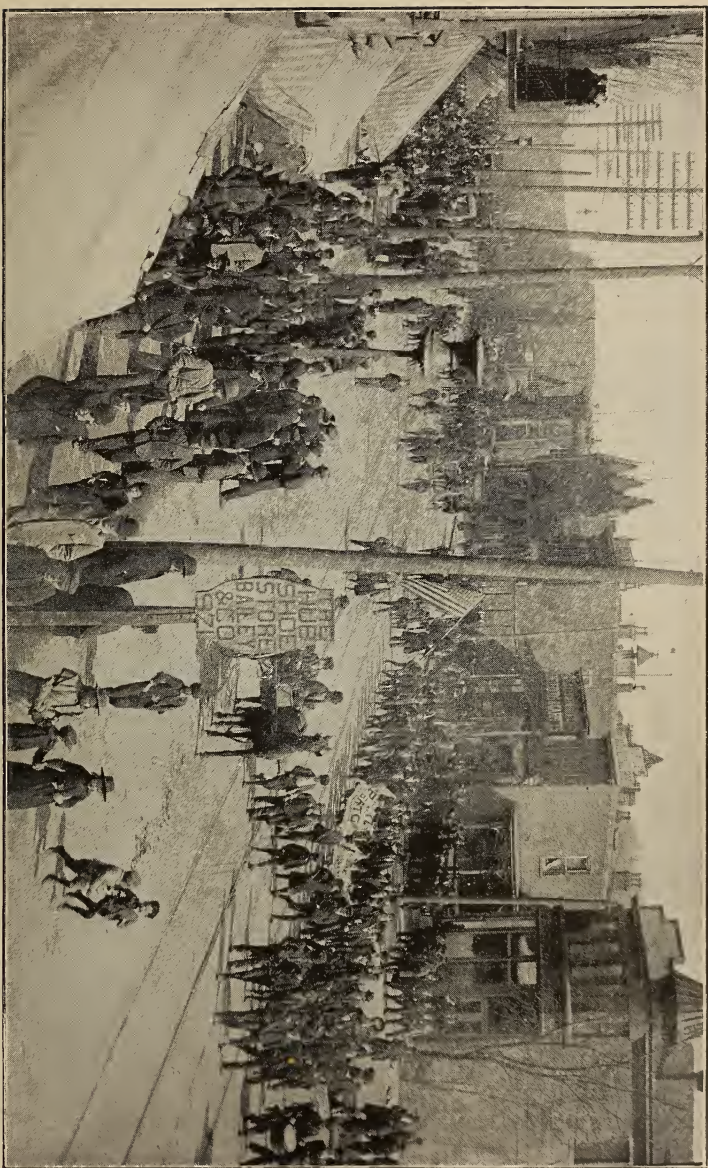
Even the farmer has recognized the quality of the army, and the farmer—God grant he may be always that tribunal—is the final court in the United States. Whatever may happen in the United States this fact stands out; it stands out and is likely to be forceful for the next half century: The farmer, the man who feeds the nation, the man who makes the nation, will rule it, inevitably. Involuntarily, when popular movements on a gigantic scale occur, the mind turns to Paris and to France as the reminiscent theater for all scenes of that sort. It turns in that direction because in that highly civilized country, and among that impulsive race, have occurred those surges of national emotion which have changed the history of the nation and, incidentally, the history of the world. In France, that typical land of revolutions, the capital is the nation—Paris is France. In this country it is not that way. Here is a continent; here is a civilized people spread over a gigantic area, and having no capital, in the sense that the capital from its centripetal influence can effect materially the affairs of the nation. Washington as a city is nothing. Chicago and New York, and St. Louis and Philadelphia, and San Francisco, have their ebullitions, and may feel themselves Parisian for a time, and one of them may think itself for the moment the whole country, but it is not. The people of one of them are not many nor much among sixty millions.

The intelligence and force of France is largely concentrated in Paris. The intelligence of the United States is not concentrated in any one of the great cities. Modern methods of newspaper cir-

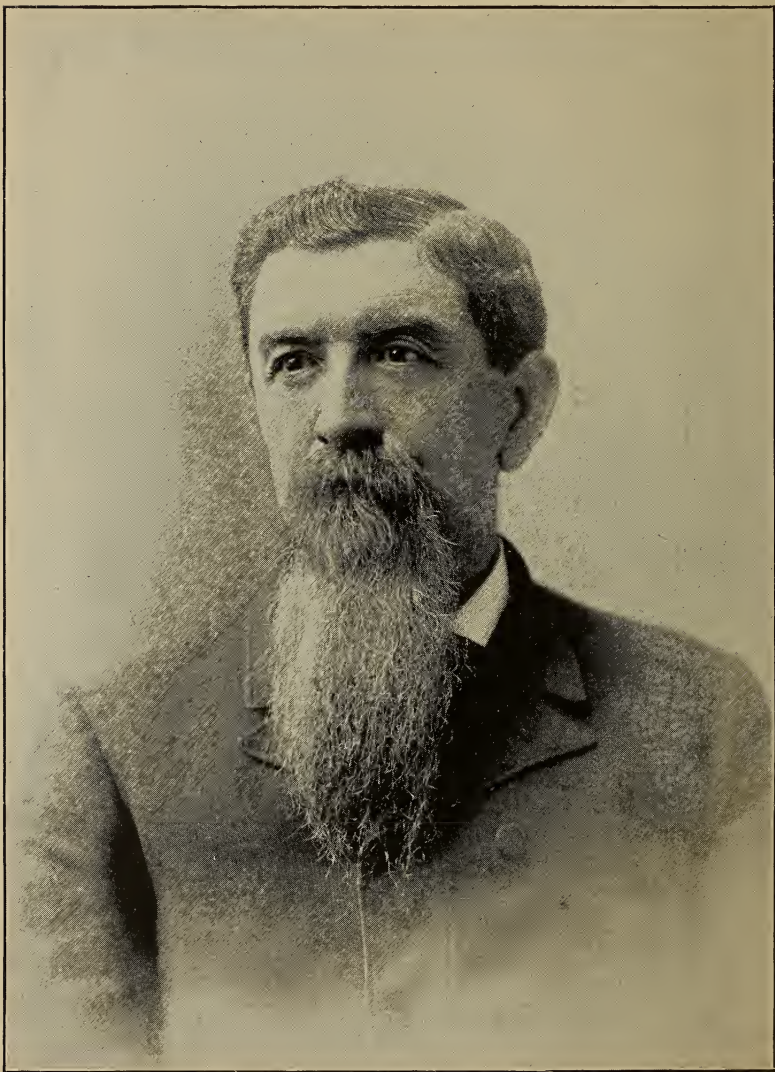
culatation, and modern methods for the diffusion of thought prevent all this. The average intelligence of the American farmer is probably the greatest in the world. The average farmer is superior not only in intelligence, but in acuteness, to the inhabitant of the great city. He is his equal in ability, and is cleaner blooded, clearer headed, and more reflective. He is the immediate successor of all who have made this nation great. From his ranks, almost exclusively, come the legislators of the nation. He was the Lincoln and he was the Grant. But, after all, the fact that such men were of him is nothing. It is the great whole-entity of the farmer which makes the history of the United States.

It is the farmer now, just as when the minute men seized their guns and powder horns and ran to Lexington. It is the farmer now, just as when these same men formed armies in millions, north and south, and met in a death grapple, each fighting for what they thought was right in the Civil War. It is the farmer now—and it is the salvation of this experiment of a republic on such a gigantic modern scale—who will determine the destiny of the nation's future. It is the farmer who will pass upon this present movement and determine its real value, whether or not it be an index of the time's needs and an absolute effort rightly directed toward doing what should be done.

Here is an army converging toward Washington. What are we going to do with it? No one can answer the question definitely. But this every intelligent and patriotic person knows, that the movement is not one to be ridiculed, or laughed or chaffed at, but one to be met with such sympathy as one group of human beings, under any existing circumstances, can offer to another. It is a peaceful movement. Where in the whole of the United States have assembled great numbers of men demanding something from the existent powers who have maintained absolute peace and regard for the law in the face of every provocation and every obstacle? What great strike has ever been without its temporary lapses from the course most considerate and politic? Yet all these converging armies so far have been most peaceful. They have done more than secure endurance, they have won regard. They are not armies of tramps and ragamuffins. They may contain in their ranks a great proportion of enthusiasts and dreamers, but they are Americans, decent Americans, seeking to attain a more than justifiable end by justifiable



THE COXEY ARMY IN MASSILLON, OHIO.



L. L. POLK, LATE PRESIDENT FARMERS' ALLIANCE AND
INDUSTRIAL UNION.

means. They are peaceful and earnest, and there is an eloquence in the patient dreariness of their plodding toward a goal.

This is an honest movement. It is one made by those who have an absolute right to suggest. It is imperative, as a matter of equity and common humanity, with regard to the vested privileges of the moving armies of peace, to meet their requests with consideration and earnestness and dignity, and dispose of them according to best judgment. More is asked by no one, and less would be wrong.

STANLEY WATERLOO.



THE STORY OF THE COMMONWEAL.

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNING OF THE MOVEMENT.

The Commonweal or Coxey movement had its birth in the little city of Massillon, Ohio, in November, 1893, its author being Jacob Selcher Coxey, a well known horse breeder, farmer and quarryman of that place. The head of this enterprise, which has the merit of great novelty, had petitioned Congress for an issuance of non-interest bearing treasury notes, to be applied toward the improvement of the highways of the country, and despairing of accomplishing anything in this way he finally, in the fall of last year, hit upon the expedient which has made his name household throughout the country.

Claim is made that the late L. L. Polk, a distinguished leader of the Populist party, was first to suggest the idea of presenting a "living petition to Congress," he having said upon one occasion, after deploring the alleged inaction of that body in relation to signed petitions, "We will send one to Washington with boots on." There is no evidence, however, that the Masillon leader ever heard of this threat of Polk. Nor does it matter if he did. Coxey's was the brain that formulated the present plan, and his the will that has projected it forward to its present degree of success.

The first announcement of the movement was received with derision and sneers all over the land. The proclamation of J. Selcher Coxey demanding the expansion of the volume of currency, and the improvement of the highways over all the country, as well as his expressed purpose to gather together, from east and west, and north and south, great masses of the unemployed proletariat only served to evoke sarcasm and unrestrained laughter. Inquiry was made concerning the antecedents of this self-constituted leader and redresser of alleged human wretchedness, and when it was found that he was himself a man of the commons he was dis-

missed by the reputed wise of the earth as a harmless sort of idiot. Why should the little town of Massillon be favored above all cities, and why should it be selected above all others to raise up a prophet and priest out of its ranks?

The newspapers of the country, while they with characteristic enterprise published such general intelligence as was procurable at the headquarters of the movement, treated it as a low comedy with every trace of seriousness eliminated. They demonstrated to their own satisfaction, at least, that nothing could possibly come of the proposed "On to Washington" march beyond an ill-assorted journey of a few miles by a motley company which would rival that of the pot-valiant Falstaff. The editorial paragraphs were jocose, satirical and frequently downright funny. It would seem that they made the mistake of failing to appreciate the value of earnestness in any given cause, as well as the benefit that might accrue to this one in particular by the wide notoriety which they gave to it.

Discontent with the existing order of things was widespread. The army of the unemployed was an immense one, as the result of the shutting down of factories and the many business failures, and to many of these the message of Coxey came as the rain upon the thirsty ground. They heard and became thoroughly convinced of the righteousness of his enterprise. Men touched with the same spirit as Coxey, with compassion for the unemployed masses, as well as the distresses of those making vigorous efforts to better their existence, proceeded diligently to work enlisting recruits for the great crusade. Now, in direct disproof of the prediction of the sneerer and scorner, not less than seventeen separate and distinct armies are now plodding wearily yet resolutely toward the National Capitol, bearing in their own personality petitions to present to the great lawmaking body. First and foremost, the John the Baptist of this dispensation is Coxey, with his potent assistant Browne, now nearly in sight of the majestic dome of the Capitol itself; the aggressive yet patient Frye, moving eastward through Iowa; the energetic Kelly, forging ahead in his across-country journey; Fitzgerald, of Massachusetts; Grayson, of Colorado; Twanley, of Oklahoma; Galvin, of Ohio; Shepherd, of Washington; Sweetland, of New Jersey; Aubrey, of Indiana; Norman, of Wisconsin; and Jones, of Maryland; each of these leaders having a following of resolute, determined men, with a set

purpose to sustain to the fullest the objects and aims outlined for the movement.

The various besetments which befell Kelly and Frye, the almost insuperable barriers which intervened at East St. Louis and Council Bluffs, the sturdiness and steadiness of the march of Coxey's band over the Appalachian mountains, and the thousand and one incidents connected with the journeyings of these armies, have been retailed in the columns of the daily papers of the country, and while but too often told in "lighter vein," show the character and purpose of the wayfarers.

The progressive stages of the various armies have been marked by the acclaims of great crowds of sympathizers, and by steady accretions to the ranks. The commissary has not always been abundantly supplied with food, yet no murmurs have escaped the lips of the men; the roads have been rough and the way dark at times, but there has been no turning back on the part of any. The speck in the sky was a small one, but it has been steadily growing and increasing until it has spread and covered the entire political sky. "On to Washington" was the rallying cry, and from cities and villages and hamlets and farms representatives of every class of the common people responded thereto. Steadily and surely the Commonweal grows, and the success of the movement, as far as numbers go, is an accomplished fact.

This gigantic movement of the proletariat in the year of our Lord, 1894, affords a most interesting study for the student of history. The antecedents and lives of the leaders, the progress and growth of the movement, the various incidents and events of the march, combine to form a great drama in real life, the rendition of which carries with it some forcible lessons. Who are these men who have passed years and years among their fellows without exciting attention, and unsuspected of the possession of qualities to command. Whence the power that influenced them to action and whence the merit which qualifies them to command?

The narrative of the journey of Coxey toward Washington abounds with proofs of the determination, the iron will of the man. Equally does his private life at Massillon afford an earnest of his fitness to execute forcibly any plan he may resolve to carry out. He does not perceive barriers that are formidable and insurmountable to less decided characters. While riding along in his phaeton one day recently he was asked:

"Suppose Congress will not pass your bills, Mr. Coxey?"

"They will pass them, they've got to pass them; and if anything we can't foresee should prevent, I shall march my men through the Southern states, through the entire West, and, after having awakened the people of the country by speeches at every point to the iniquities of Congress, I will bring the Commonwealth again to Washington in the spring of 1895."

His followers are fully persuaded he is capable of executing the plan thus named by him, and numbers of them declare they are enlisted with him to the end of the peaceful war he has inaugurated, whether that period be three months or three years.

Among the unique features of the Coxey movement are the speeches of Carl Browne, which while distinctively peculiar to the man and his surroundings, they likewise reflect the spirit and purpose of the leader. He will frequently address his audience as "fellow dogs," and then offer the following explanation:

"Mr. McCullom, of Chicago, who is here with us, has written a book, entitled the "Dogs and the Fleas," in which he anticipates the march of Brother Coxey and myself in our march to Washington. He tells how in Kyhidrom there dwelt a colony of dogs, which were bitten to death by fleas and not one of the canines could tell why they were in such straits. One day a crank dog came along and nudging one of the flea-ridden brutes called out, 'fleas,' and then passing on to various groups of the insect pestered animals, cried viciously, 'Fleas, ye fools, fleas,' until finally the distressed dogs were induced to stop scratching and look in the right direction, being made to see that all their troubles came from fleas."

Thus with rapid speech he applies the story; he declares the people to be the dogs and the bankers, bondholders and monopolists as fleas who suck the life blood out of their victims. "We are the dogs," he shouts, "and we are going to Washington to rid ourselves of the fleas," and then tells how he and Coxey propose to do it.

"On one occasion when the troubles of the dogs had become almost unendurable, a number of them were assembled discussing the situation when a big dog appeared on the scene with the light of a big idea and the others accepted him as their leader. Under his directions they came to a place where a lot of timber had been cut and each one of the canines seized in his mouth a chip and

trotted away with it to the banks of a river into which they all slowly plunged. Every one knows how much a flea dislikes water and the result was that as the several bodies of the animals became submerged the fleas crept forward until they were driven upon the chips, when the enlightened dogs let go the chips, which went floating down stream carrying a dense mass of howling, disappointed bloodsuckers. Now, we are the dogs, and Brother Coxey is giving us the chips in the shape of his two bills before Congress, and we are going to Washington to get rid of the fleas."

Having thus secured the attention of his audience and excited it to keen enjoyment of his quaint and apt illustrations, he unfolds his panoramas, which consists of a series of banners, which he offers to the gaze of the populace, and by means of the pictures thereon inscribed, with rapid speech he covers the financial history of the country from his standpoint, and makes hits upon the alleged plutocrats of the day which seem to greatly tickle the fancy of his hearers. Mr. Browne is, indeed, a most notable feature of the Coxey Commonwealth.

Equally striking features characterize the onward progress of the various other armies of the Commonwealth, although the original body attracts the closest and most intimate attention of the newsgatherers of the land. One is peculiarly impressed with the doing of the leaders, Frye and Kelly, who organized their cohorts on the far off Pacific coast, one of them taking the southern route, through the burning sands of the great American Sahara; the other over the great "Backbone of the Continent." Difficulties of all kinds beset them. Transportation was refused, food was withheld, the authorities were hostile. Long delays were inevitable, and they were again and again threatened with arrest as vagrants. But determined purpose overcame the opposition of the railroads in the case of Kelly, and Frye procured railroad passage as far as Omaha. At the latter place every possible impediment, so it seemed, was placed in the path of Frye, but finally, the railroads being obdurate, he started across the state of Iowa, relying upon the kindness and sympathy of farmers to afford transportation in their wagons, as well as supply them with needed food.

Thus the many armies, all moved of a common purpose as they announce, are moving on toward Washington, seemingly acting in concert. Usually the commissary is one of the chief causes

for anxiety with a general on the march, and it was for centuries considered a most unwise thing to get away from the base of one's supplies. But these seventeen armies have taken no thought, literally, for the morrow; they have laid in no stores, but have depended solely upon the country through which they marched for food and drink. They have made no reprisals or seizures; they have used no violence, but have relied solely upon the donatives of their fellow citizens. They have not hungered or thirsted; their fill of food has come daily and they have been able to bear up wonderfully against the fatigues and burdens of the day.

The Chicago contingent, rapidly organizing, will soon be on its way with those gone on before. Recruiting has been going on apace and its leader with a supreme confidence in the result has staked all upon the chances of a way opening up for transportation eastward, just as his associates have done before him. The work in Chicago has been greatly aided by a band of enthusiastic women, who are lending themselves to the movement with the energy that usually characterizes that sex when resolved upon the attainment of some cherished object, and the present indications are that the Chicago Commonweal will start out with an army of no inconsiderable members.

The leaders of the movement object to the use of the word army as applicable to their Commonweal force, declaring it to be misleading, for the reason that the general definition of an army is that of a body of men organized for the purpose of fighting. They insist that they are a Commonweal, pure and simple; that they are bands of peaceable citizens, bent upon a peaceable errand, on their way to Washington without scrip or purse, for the sole purpose of exercising their right of petition in person, and that as all they have done is within the statutes so until the end they will preserve the peace whatever the provocation.

All in all, there may not be found in any book of history an exact parallel with this Coxey movement of 1894. These various uprisings in various parts of the country under a common purpose and pointing to a common destination are unique and are likely to stand out as such for many years to come. One reason for this is that in no previous age were there similar conditions of social and political life; yet there are many historical movements strikingly related features, a reference to which cannot fail to be interesting and profitable at this time.

CHAPTER II.

SIMILAR MOVEMENTS IN HISTORY.

It is difficult to get all facts bearing on certain historical phases. Historians are too prone to direct their energies upon the mighty wars of earth, its great generals and the intrigues of courts, leaving untold the sufferings and struggles of the proletariat. They aim at strong dramatic situations that they may describe them in well rounded periods, passing by with seeming unconcern the peaceable struggles of the common people for the betterment of their conditions. Unfortunately, too, when the sorrows of the multitudes compel some sort of recognition, they are related in such a manner as to demand sympathy for those who oppressed them. Because of these tendencies in those with whom love of truth should be paramount to all other considerations, search is made in vain for satisfactory accounts of the progress and development of the toiling masses, and equally vain is the endeavor to glean from printed page unbiased reports of those tragical events in which the less favored of earth's children have been pitted against those having dominion over them.

These are some of the difficulties encountered by the careful and conscientious student who endeavors to enlighten himself on these matters. Still patient search will bring to light movements which find their parallel in the present "on to Washington" cry that has been raised in every part of the United States by those who see in the present condition of affairs wrong and oppression against the poor of the people and who would seek to redress them by personal appeal to the lawmakers of the land. These instances, while by no means so numerous as the presumptive proofs would call for, are sufficient to show that in every age, since man possessed the intelligence and the courage to deny that divinity hedged in kings who spoke as from God and could do no sin, there have occurred at intervals of greater or less frequency great popular uprisings designed to mitigate the suffer-

ings of the unhappy of earth by abridging the privileges of the proud and haughty. The pages of history, tinctured though they be with reverential regard for power and state, will have been read to no profit if they do not show conclusively that there has been going on for twenty-five hundred years a perceptible conflict between labor and capital, it being understood that until more recent times capital was in effect centered in the titled aristocracy which supported the crown in all its tyrannies and oppressions.

The mills of the gods do not grind more slowly than moves the army of liberalism and emancipation of thought and personal action, while for thousands of years the commons lived in a state of passive servitude, dull and lethargic, accepting the chains of serfdom as an inherited environment, out of which deliverance was hopeless. Thus one does not find among the Phœnician, Assyrian, Persian and Egyptian hierarchies a single instance of intelligent popular revolt against existing conditions. The lot of the proletariat in those times was deplorable, the king farming out the tax-gathering of the provinces to favorites, who, in turn, farmed it out to other favorites, in whose breasts was no quality of mercy and from whose wanton and sordid injustice there was no appeal. The king was the only lawmaker, and his administrative officers held in their hands absolute power of life and death as well as practical control over the little possessions of the masses. Yet one will not see among the myriad records of the ancient Nilus country written in imperishable stone, or among the countless brick tablets of Ninus and Babylon for a single protesting wail from the afflicted people, whose burdens were so increased that finally their backs could no longer bear them and the empires which held them as slaves went into ruin and death.

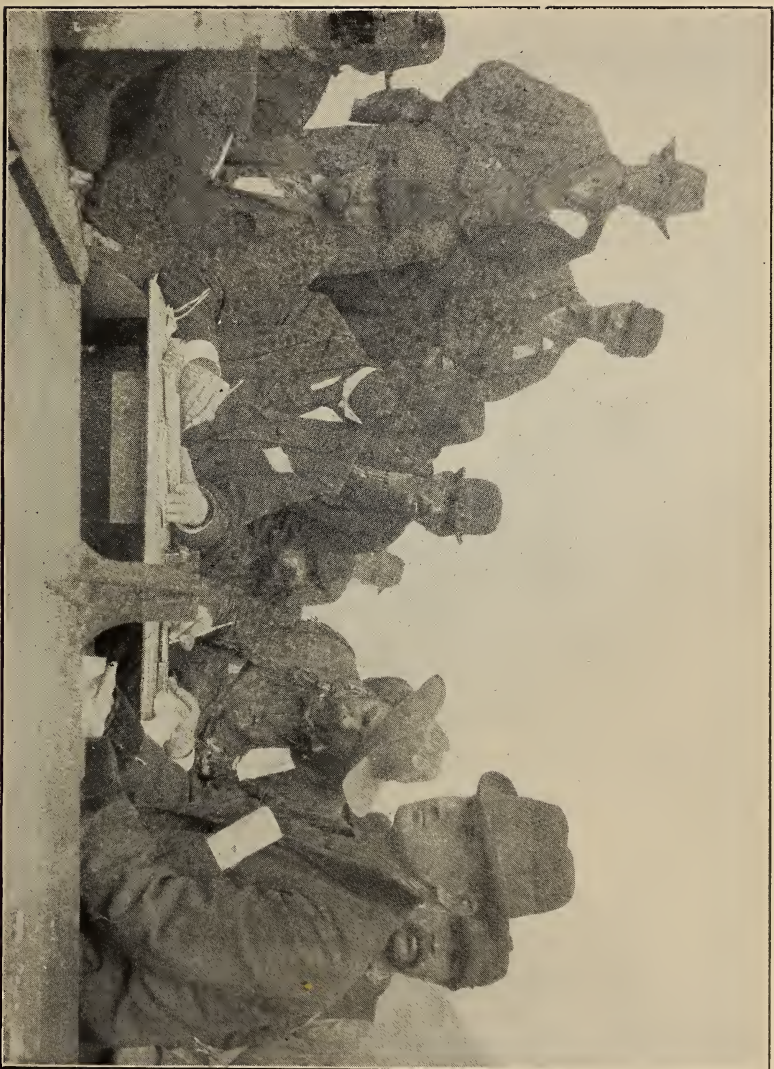
One instance there is which shines out of the dense black night of oppression with the effulgence of Venus in perigee and that is the mighty uprising of the children of Israel in Egypt, under the leadership of the courtly Moses. Galled by the tyranny of the second Rameses, who answered their respectful request for a lightening of their burdens by an order that they should no longer be supplied with straw for the making of brick, they arose as one man and went forth out of the land of oppression leaving behind them wailing cries from every household of the enemy, because the first born of each family had been slain by the angel of death.

It, however, seems incredible that this redoubtable people, who wandered forty long years in the desert of Sinai, depending for their commissary supplies upon the dews of heaven, braving the burning sands by day and the pestiferous air of the night; that this people, who fought so valorously under Joshua for the possession of the land of promise, and who tasted the sweets of full liberty under the judges of Israel for three hundred and fifty-five years, should have of their own volition sought for a king to rule over them. In vain did Samuel, the wise seer, warn them against the evils of monarchical rule, the tyranny of kingcraft, and the caste privileges it would establish. Like the frogs in the fable, they would not be content without a king of some sort, and Israel was thenceforward nevermore free.

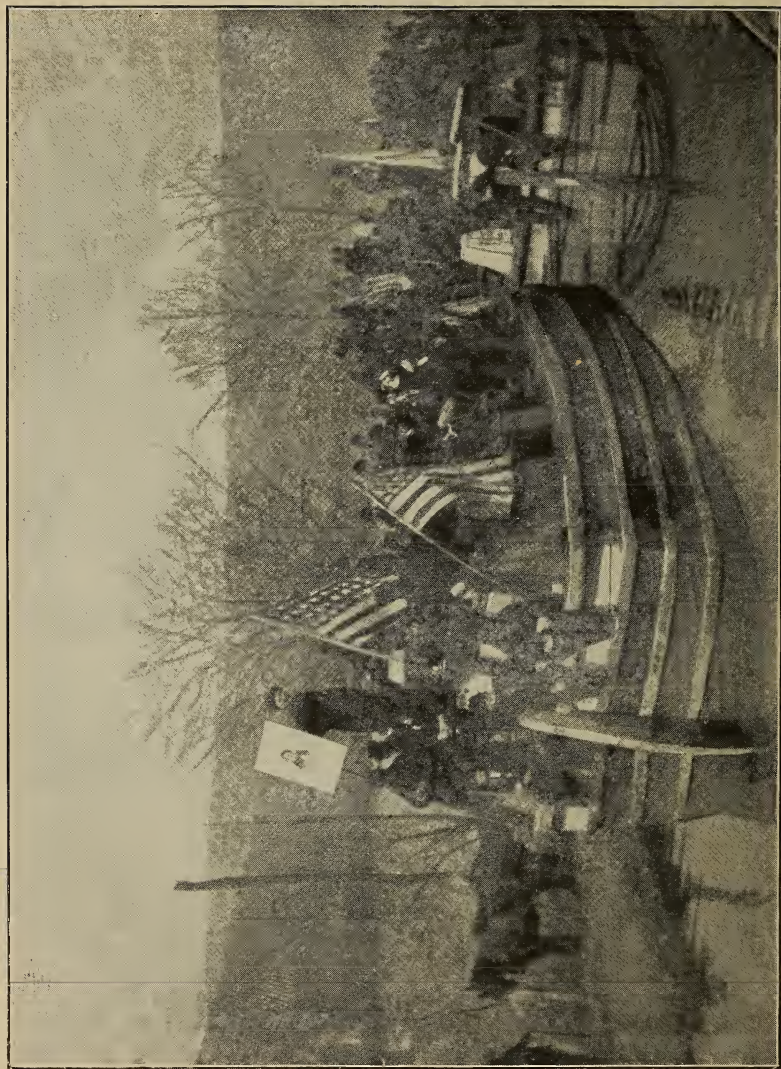
Nevertheless, this stands forth in history as the first popular demonstration for personal liberty and a redress of grievances, and search will be made in vain throughout any book of history for a parallel in heroic endurance to that noble band which unfalteringly followed the pillar of cloud by day and rested by night under the protection of the mystical pillar of fire.

The migration of that peculiar people known as the Aryans, who are commonly believed to have come from Asia, and who scattered over Europe, becoming the progenitors of the Latin and Anglo-Saxon races, cannot be satisfactorily explained because of the absence of evidence concerning their motive. It may, however, be accepted as fact that they were in search of liberty, whether they were expelled from their habitats by a superior enemy or left the futile valleys of their fathers because of density of population and consequent bitter struggle for existence. From out the myths and shadows there gleam glints of certainty only, but it is established that it was a great moving body of people, urged forward by a common purpose, which was the redressing of existing grievances and the betterment of their condition. This great exodus, whose precise time can never be shown, was, doubtless, derided with sneers at its inception by contemporary peoples and excited no fears among those whom they were destined to replace. So true is it that the evolutions and revolutions of the populace always are regarded with irony, if not with unconcern, by those who for various reasons fail to be touched by the spirit of protest against existing evils.

Lessons of liberty had been learned by the ancient Greeks



COXEY AND BROWNE ON THE FLAGSHIP BENJ. VAUGHEN.



ON THE OHIO AND CHESAPEAKE CANAL.

when the remainder of Europe was plunged in irremediable ignorance and degradation, but their progress was unmarked of any great popular upheaval. Now and then there was a wail from the despairing, as when the helots of Sparta arose in their weakness and pressed forward under waving banners toward the seat of power, clamoring for release from the irons that burned into their souls. So in the island of Sicily the downtrodden slaves under command of one Eurys, a man of common parts who followed the art of a juggler, massed themselves together and, in the year 620 B. C., marched through the country adding daily into their forces, first seeking a redress of their grievances by the peaceful means of arbitrament. But their masters were trained in the rigors of war and Eurys was killed, while his followers were widely scattered. Still the seeds of discontent thus sowed speedily took root and grew. Again and again during the next two years nomadic forces of slaves moved about, until finally, in 622, an army of 70,000 men had put itself under a leader who appealed to the spirit of fairness of the people. Their struggles were the beginnings of a courageous contest which endured until the act of emancipation of 1863 by Lincoln, but their's was the fate that has befallen all pioneers in the cause of freedom, the last condition of the survivors of the battle being worse than the first.

Ancient Rome supplies numerous and protracted contests between the plebeians and the patricians, culminating finally in the practical effacement of lines of caste and the establishment of an empire whose limits were the entire known world. Strikingly alike to what is known as the Coxey movement was that of Tiberius Gracchus, and later of his brother Caius. Tiberius, it is true, was a Roman aristocrat, with all the pride of birth and pomp of riches, but while clothed with high authority he espoused warmly the cause of the people, causing the passage of the agrarian law, a measure designed to be of greatest possible service and direct benefit to the proletariat. When the tribune Octavius exercised his prerogative by vetoing the wholesome law, Tiberius made direct appeal to the assembly of the people and the dictatorial Octavius was deposed. Urged onward by an irresistible impulse he secured the passage of the law, notwithstanding the embittered opposition of the patrician senate. During this protracted struggle the great body of the people was heart and soul with the illustrious leader, and processions of men marched in to the capi-

tol city from the surrounding country to reinforce by their presence the demands of Gracchus. This hero was killed, it is true, by a blow upon the temples, and three hundred of his followers shared the same fate. But as the phoenix in fabled history rises intact from the consuming fire, so the cause of Tiberius gained new life from his death, and his brother, who presumably succeeded him in the tribuneship, found the same hearty co-operation and unswerving support from the masses, to whom he was devoting energy and life. Town after town sent out its representatives to gather about the brilliant young leader, that he might have inspiration through their presence to do and dare. The mercantile power, a most influential body, as well as the commons, was united in its fealty to Gracchus, who not only faithfully sought to enforce the laws whose enactment cost the life of his brother, but also insisted upon wholesome changes in the constitution. The deterrent work of Scipio Aemilianus, who suspended the law because of its alleged infringement upon the rights of certain communities, did not swerve him from his purpose. Scipio was assassinated by unknown political enemies, while Gracchus poured out his life for the cause so dear to his heart, and in which he was so heartily sustained by the masses.

The first ten centuries of the Christian era was a period of intellectual and moral sloth, in which feudalism was thoroughly fastened upon the body of the people. The human will was only exercised for dominion over the unfortunate whose will had so long been dormant that it would seem to have been dead. Great bodies of men moved hither and thither over the surface of Europe, but they bore swords and spears in their hands, and the only word engraved upon their banners was, "Conquest." The continent was drenched in blood and the quality of mercy found no lodging place in the human breast. The commons had no time as they had no disposition for the discussion of grievances or the reparation of their degraded condition. They were soldier-slaves or they were the drudges of the plow and spade. The darkness of that decade of centuries is black, and the shadows which loom out of the night are repulsive. There is not the suggestion of progress or a single blow in defense of liberty, other than is afforded in England, where the energy of the people was directed against invading hordes, and they were driven to the strait of inviting in the Saxons to aid them in driving out the Danes. It was in this period

of darkness that the hordes of the north poured in upon the Eternal City, their march, like the course of the tornado, being marked with utter devastation and ruin. The numbers of these invaders were seemingly endless, and the former mistress of the world, before whom the proudest kings had bowed the neck of submission, passed herself under the yoke, her desolation being so complete that after a thousand years she has by no means yet recovered her dignity and importance.

Utterly unlike the moving army of Coxe, upon whose banners is inscribed the name of Him who came to bring peace and good will to earth, were those lawless, defying Goths and Visigoths, Huns and Vandals, whose watchword was booty, and whose rallying cry was death to the vanquished. The fathers of the barbarians, it is true, had felt the iron heel of the oppressor upon their necks, and it may be that the memory of it lingered, but it was not the spirit of revenge that impelled them onward to the capitol. Rather was it some Siva-god destroyer who goaded them on until Rome was desolate. The great body of these desperate men had never felt a breathing of liberty. Lawless, they yet accepted the tyranny of their leaders and were utterly subservient to those whose glance was death, and whom to defy was to invite relentless destruction. Blindly they followed where they were led and were as ignorant of their destination as they were indifferent to the outcome. Whether victors or vanquished, they were still servilely subject to their leaders. Their great across-country march to the city which made laws for the world's government was only orderly as the leaders saw fit to enforce obedience. They were noisy, uproarious and jubilant, but no high purpose directed them and beneficent results were impossible. Under their hostile feet the grass ceased to grow, at their touch the vineyards were blighted, and the olive trees withheld their yield. The "curse of God" did not bear alone the name of Atilla, for a thousand vied with him in acts of atrocity. They defied no laws, because they had none, and had no knowledge of the meaning of that term. The shock of their presence paralyzed all Europe, and the woe of the people was full.

Striking indeed is the contrast between the moving armies of the north and those that were first quickened into motion by that anomalous being, Peter the Hermit, a man of humble origin and plain exterior, who, without the prestige of noble birth or the patronage of kings, dictated energy to the proudest of

monarchs and made the greatest nobles his willing vassals. Many volumes have been written with a view to showing the beneficent effects of the crusades upon the civilization of Europe, but this aspect of the case is not directly pertinent to the present subject. Attention is invited to them in order to emphasize the fact that the long and almost continuous struggles going on between the various nations of Christendom ended in the espousal of a common cause, and representatives of every country fell into the procession whose watchword was, "The tomb of the risen Christ." Jealousies might and did ultimately disrupt the Christian armies in Palestine and thus make the victories won but barren ultimates, yet, after all, there remained the great lesson of chivalry, which, though long misdirected, had for its purpose the relief of the distressed and the success of the poor, the widow and fatherless, and they that had none to help.

The world had never until that time witnessed such a spectacle. The hosts gathered from every land, and they who for eleven centuries had only met that they might shed one another's blood, now clasped hands in hearty good fellowship and pressed forward under the banner of the Prince of Peace. The demonstration was a social cataclysm. Kings forsook their thrones, princes their palaces, and barons their estates, that they might prove their fealty to His kingdom in which rested the promise of changing the sword into a plowshare and the spear into a pruning hook.

The sentiment may be one which now can only provoke a smile, for it is confessedly simple that vassal and lord should leave all that was dear to them and face every possible danger in order to wrest from profane keeping a hole in the rock where once rested the body of the crucified Nazarene, Himself one of the lowly of earth, who was despised and rejected of His fellows. Yet no martyr ever went to the block with higher or holier resolve than these heroes of the cross to Palestine. Bigotry, united with inherited bloodthirstiness, may have led them into brutal measures on the field of Acre and other hotly contested grounds, but the fact stands out clear that humble merit there for the first time in the world's history obtained recognition, and that the birth of the crusades was the beginning of the death of the feudal system, that infamous institution that rotted energy, palsied the will and made impossible the growth of manhood.

The idea is erroneous that the champions of the cross went forth breathing threatening and slaughter. Indeed, thousands of them literally carried out the injunction of Christ to His disciples, taking with them neither scrip nor purse, nor burdening themselves with the weapons of carnal warfare. With a faith that was infinitely sublime, if misguided, they literally took no thought for the morrow, what they should eat or what they should drink, but in the conviction that He who watched the fall of the sparrow would feed them as the children of Israel were fed and as Elijah was preserved, they plunged into unknown lands, meeting death with songs of gladness and plans of triumph.

Pitiful were many of these journeyings, as that of the blessed children who were pressed onward in the great Palestinian train, but in measuring the results of any momentous enterprise men reckon that innocence must make expiation for human transgression. Call the crusaders fanatics and cranks, if men will, declare their captains blind leaders of the blind, but the fact remains that the results were far-reaching and their influence is felt today throughout the world. Thenceforward, for the first time in thirteen centuries, it became possible for men to attain distinction without becoming soldiers and the proletariat saw the morning star of deliverance.

The part of wisdom is not the jeering at those whose methods are unconventional, or whose views are not in harmony with preconceived and moss-covered public opinion. The spirit of the iconoclast has even been at variance with that of his immediate contemporaries, yet the unprejudiced student of history is compelled, if against his will, to admit that revolutions and not evolutions are the mile-stones of civilization. Science boldly declares that nature never makes a leap, but history on its every page shows that great social overthrows have been sudden as the death which comes like a thief in the night. The little handspeck in the sky that scarcely seems a cloud, so gossamerlike is it, is warning to the mariner, who hastens to take in sail before the sure impending gale that is to lash the sea into fury and threaten the safety of the ship. Peter the Hermit was a simple man, unlearned and unknown, but the echo of his voice resounded throughout Christendom and kings were proud to obey him.

CHAPTER III.

MAGNA CHARTA, MARCEL, WAT TYLER.

Scarcely had the body of the redoubtable Richard of the Lion Heart and chief among the heroes of the greatest crusade been laid peacefully in its tomb after years of strife, when John, his unfaithful brother and unworthy successor, found himself in the midst of a lively contest with the lordly abbots of his kingdom over the matter of the filling of vacancies in the priories, or more accurately speaking, over the spoils of these influential and rich holdings. Mention is made of this merely as introductory to the first great and nearly parallel case with that of the Coxe movement, which appears in English history, namely, the revolt which led to the execution of that invincible instrument of liberty, Magna Charta. But for John's rapacity he had not fought the lords of the church, and had he not fought them they had not gone with the barons in their struggle for liberty, and had the influence of the church been withheld from the barons the latter would have been utterly unsuccessful in their demands.

Here and now let it be said with decided emphasis that in following the accepted impression, which is that the barons made the fight against the king, a great injustice is done the proletariat, who were heart and soul in the enterprise. Not only were the lawyers and merchants and manufacturers and the clergy in full accord with the barons, but also the tenants and retainers of the rich landholders. No better evidence is needed to sustain this statement than the testimony of Magna Charta itself. To the eternal honor of the barons be it recorded, and it should be done in letters of gold, that they kept perfect faith with the proletariat, not only readily agreeing to all the terms of the compact which guaranteed inestimable rights, but actually insisting that these conditions be part of the agreement. This is the more noteworthy, as it will presently be seen that great lords and kings made pledges to the people only to break them, and that in other days, as now, the injunction,

"Put not your trust in princes," was a wise and prudent precaution. Yet twenty-four of the twenty-eight barons, whose names are appended to the immortal document, were so illiterate that they were unable to write their names, a shining proof that a man may be honest without going through college.

Sight should not be lost of the fact that the people of England had made far greater progress in love of liberty and enjoyment of personal freedom than any other nation. While it is true that the generous Alfred had been followed in time by the inexorable tyrant, William of Normandy, yet though oppressed, the commons resisted and progressed. The march of the barons, as it is called, was a march of the commons through the most fertile parts of England, gathering strength from every quarter as it progressed, and finally bringing up before the lawmaker and lawgiver, John. It was a manifestation of personal petition by citizens of the realm, and the victory was won without the shedding of any blood.

John demanded a scrutiny, and the liberty-loving people through their representatives, the barons, denied his right to compel this exaction. The intriguing monarch sought to detach the clergy from the lords by a promise of freedom of election, against which he had so long contended, and which opposition brought down upon him the anathemas of Rome. He went so far as to issue a charter to this effect November 21, 1214. But the clergy had seen enough of the tergiversations and borne enough of the treachery of their king, and they were indifferent to his blandishments. No man was ever more gracious than John when he had favors to ask, and his reception of the recalcitrant barons January 6 of the following year was very cordial, when, and it was the feast of the Epiphany, too, he asked for time for reflection, declaring he would scarcely be able to make up his mind until after Easter. Like some other notable hypocrites, John found it profitable to call his piety to his aid, even though he might deceive nobody thereby.

What the wily monarch desired was time, and he improved it after the barons had acquiesced in his wishes, by issuing the charter of freedom to the church, and at the same time demanded from every subject in the kingdom an oath of fealty to himself alone, as well as a renewal of homage from tenants-in-chief. At this time the cry of "crusade" was as all-potent in England as that of "El Mahdi" now is in the Soudan country, and the subtle

John took the crusade vow, which involved the guilt of sacrilege against all who might raise their hands against him. Let it not be forgotten that the "guilt of sacrilege" meant excommunication from the church, if he could prevail upon the priests to enforce the decree, and excommunication meant purgatory and eternal damnation, possibly, to the recusant, a curse in those days than which no more frightful punishment could be visited upon mortal offender.

The barons and proletariat regarded these proceedings of John with gravity, and not without deep concern, but they stood manfully by the truce, although they massed their forces at Stamford and marched on to Brackley, in Northamptonshire, their numbers being increased by enthusiastic followers as they proceeded on their journey. They were impatient, but honest to their word, for they remained at Brackley until after Easter, and, in fact, until the king, who was at Oxford, sent the archbishop and William Marshall to his subjects to inquire whether his decrees and threats had not subdued their valor. These ambassadors duly asked the barons what they now desired, and then reported the demands to the king, who was infinitely surprised that his promises of woe in this life and of hell fire in the next had not terrified them or caused them to abate one jot or tittle of their first insistence. In his hot wrath he swore he would never yield to their demands, but that he himself, sooner than give in, would bear in his own person and spirit all the punishments he had denounced against them.

Then it was that the great army of the barons, representing as it did the body of the people, largely augmented by accessions from all points, started out on a triumphal march, through Northampton, Bedford and Ware, to London. They made no reprisals upon the people, because the people received them gladly, fed them and cared for them, and daily flocked to their standard. They entered London May 24, amid the universal acclaim of the inhabitants of that ancient city, and, so popular was the movement, nearly every member of the court and of the king's own household made common cause with the barons. John, finding himself alone, gave a reluctant consent to the just and righteous petition of his subjects, and Magna Charta was signed at Runnymede June 15, 1215.

Nothing is detracted from the merit of this glorious document

by confessing that it is founded upon the charter of Henry I., for the latter had become inoperative through the oppression of kings. The wresting of these rights from an obtusely obstinate king was a death-blow to absolutism and kingly divinity. From that time forward the people expanded in knowledge of freedom as they grew in appreciation of their rights, which they had the courage to maintain when, afterward, monarchs with poor memories forgot its plain provisions. The lawyers who drew up the document were wise in their generation and probably builded stronger than they knew. Assuredly nowhere in all history will there be found another instance in which the people secured a tithe of the privileges gained by those at Runnymede, and that, too, without the spilling of any blood.

France, which has been the theater of so many bloody dramas enacted in the name of liberty, supplies a striking situation as early as the year 1357, or nearly a century and a half after the wrestle of the English barons with John. At this time the soldiers of the former country, like those of Rome in the time of the emperors, had become a menace to the liberties of the people and there was a nearly universal prayer for deliverance from their oppression. As in the later history of France, when the Corsican was at the head of government, the country was in almost perpetual war, and Charles had grown most unpopular because of the heavy tax he had caused to be levied upon his subjects.

The original protest was a pacific one, coming in the shape of petitions from the provinces, presented by delegations, who declared their love for their king, but also their aversion to paying out all they earned to the tax-gatherers. Charles had all the pride and stubbornness which characterized his later successors, the Bourbons. Like them he could learn nothing and profit nothing, and was as deaf as they to all prayers that came from his heart-broken people. He deemed it beneath his kingly dignity to give audience to his loyal subjects, and suffered himself to be under the domination of the marshals of Normandy and Champagne, themselves powerful heads of influential constituencies.

In these early days there were trade corporations in Paris, as there were also in London and Brussels, and the bourgeoisie composing them got together and placing one Etienne Marcel at their head, had a grand march through the streets of Paris, finally bringing up at the palace of the king, to whom they presented their living

petition, which really was couched in such terms as to seem like an inflexible demand. Marcel repeated it by word of mouth, and, being no courtier, it was impossible that his speech should require an interpreter or fail of being thoroughly understood. In brief, he said to the king, in substance: "There is too little money for the taxes, which must stop. Glory is a good thing, but it is too expensive a luxury for the common people, and you must positively call off the dogs of war from the neighboring peoples."

Naturally a king of those remote times would be considerably shocked at such plain speech from the trades-folk, and it may be that the surprise of the peaceable attack led him into the impolitic and undiplomatic refusal which greeted the reasonable demand. He, previous to doing so, however, took counsel of his good friends, the marshals above named, who heartily advised him that the trades-people and the proletariat were placed upon earth for the sole purpose of pampering kings, and that they had no rights which he for a single moment was bound to consider. Thus fortified in his pre-determined answer, Charles gained courage to couch his reply in such language that Marcel deemed it expedient to punctuate his demand by turning in his followers upon the marshals of Champagne and Normandy, who fell dead from many wounds at the very feet of their monarch.

The king was so overcome of fear at this exhibition of determined purpose that Etienne found it necessary to offer consolation, which he did in these precise words: "Do not be distressed, my lord. What has been done is the will of the people."

This was extraordinary language for that day and generation, and plainly shows that Marcel was two or three centuries ahead of the times. There was then no school which taught that the will of the people was paramount to that of the king, or, even, that the proletariat had any claim which the king ought to respect.

This summary action of the Paris bourgeoisie caused a reaction against them. The people of the city were willing enough to petition and, if needs be, to do nothing else but petition to the end of their days. Indeed, they esteemed it a most gracious condescension on the part of Charles to suffer them to petition without cutting off their heads for it. But to outrage the feelings of the Lord's anointed by shedding blood in his presence, and that, too, the most precious blood of his favorite advisers, such a revolutionary proceeding was subversive of all government, and the spirit must be crushed out at once and forever.

The peasantry, however, regarded the matter with different eyes. Upon them rested the chief burden of paying the tax, and so thoroughly drained were they that the inexorable gnawings of hunger prevented them, possibly, from that unselfish regard for their king which all good people of high and low degree were expected to display. At any rate they fully indorsed the action of Etienne and there was speedily witnessed a general uprising of the *Jacquerie*, as they were ironically dubbed. These simple and pacific folks did not want war, but they simply massed themselves together at the first to enter a vigorous protest against being dragged off to fight battles for other nations or to pay the expenses incurred by those who were so unfortunate as to be conscripted. They were deficient in weapons and wanting in discipline, but they were harmoniously united upon one general proposition, which was that they desired peace and a reduction of taxes.

Naturally the plutocrats, who dodged the payment of taxes regarded this movement with high disfavor, as also did the king, who esteemed war the chief if not the only means of obtaining glory. The peace army marched from town to town gathering numerical strength, under the rallying cry of "Peace and Low Taxes." Finally not less than one hundred thousand peasants were gathered in the great procession, when Marcel joined them and became their leader. A born commander, he at once realized the necessity of disbanding or arming them, and, being filled with the fire of purpose, he elected to do the latter.

The soldiers of those days were mere machines and hard fighters. Accustomed to blind and passive obedience to all instructions, they would have followed their leaders in an attack upon their own homes and firesides. There was no thought of listening to or reasoning with poor Jacques, because he had committed the unforgivable sin of thinking and of actually giving expression to his thoughts. It never entered the obtuse head of Charles that agreeably to his own claim he was father of the poor peasants, and that his children might listen to warning even if not amenable to reason. On the contrary, the hated soldiery were given orders to disperse them with much slaughter. This was done before Marcel had had time to drill them into discipline, or in fact, to properly arm them. They were brave enough, but, helpless, and the slaughter was pitiable.

The soldiers had never before had so regal a time. Previously they had met men who could and did give blow for blow, and it was only when they had captured a walled city and were turned loose among the women and children that so thoroughly enjoyable a season was had. As chaff before the wind or grass before the sickle the poor peasants were cut down or scattered, and many fertile farms became desolate places because of the deeds of that day. The victorious army likewise subdued the bourgeoisie of Paris, who had grave cause to mourn for the assertion of their rights. Poor Marcel, who escaped the rout of the peasants, now turned his eyes toward the King of Bohemia, that prince having pledged him assistance. But when he learned that the Paris uprising had been quelled, that deceiving ruler left the reformer to his fate. It is unfortunate that historians should so write of Marcel and his deeds that average students esteem him a traitorous crank rather than a sincere patriot who was driven to desperation by the wrongs and oppressions endured by his people. Marcel was by no means bloodthirsty, but, on the contrary, contended for peace. His ideas of liberty and the rights of the proletariat were not nearly so far advanced as those of the average American patriot of today, and he was a firm believer in the importance of law and order. It is doubtful if he had ever entered a protest against the unequal and unjust taxes had they been levied for the maintenance of wars necessary for the perpetuation of the autonomy of his dearly loved France. But kings of those days levied war as an amusement, or to please a favorite, or the cousin of a foreign born wife, or because some monarch said he was pigeon-toed or knock-kneed. The most trivial of excuses was offered as causes for war, and Marcel saw his country in the throes of bankruptcy and ruin as the result of such irresponsible and reprehensible conduct. The assassination of the marshals can scarcely be defended, but he regarded them as the unscrupulous advisers of a monarch, who, if relieved of their presence, might be brought to reason. It is contended by some that if the high officials had been spared the issue of the contention would have been different. History teaches this lesson, at least, that violence begets violence, and that the most signal of all triumphs, Magna Charta, was the result of long suffering patience although of determined, bloodless purpose.

Twenty-four years after the foregoing tragical event, or in

1381, in the reign of Richard II., England again witnessed a great popular uprising, the result of a protest against the imposition of a tax of three goats a head upon all adults in the kingdom, as well as upon the brutal manner in which the revenue was collected. The people now had their Magna Charta and did not as vigorously protest as they otherwise possibly might have done against tyranny. They knew their rights were guaranteed under solemn seal and covenant, and they did not elect to believe that any king would deliberately violate its plain terms. Still they chafed under the burdens which had speedily followed one another, the last one of which, like that which had caused the revolt of the Jacquerie in France, was due to the exactions of war.

A single act precipitated the uprising. A father denied that his daughter had reached the age which the provisions of the act required for the collection of the tax, and the beastly publican proceeded to prove the fact by personal examination, when the father felled the scoundrel to earth. A mighty cry went up over the counties of Kent, Hertford, Surrey, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln, and what is known as the Wat Tyler insurrection became a matter of history. Crowds gathered here and there and then came together. Then under the leadership of Tyler, Jack Straw, Hob Carter and Tom Miller, all of these being fictitious names, the grand army turned its face Londonward with the single avowed object of petitioning the king in a peaceable manner to rescind the objectionable law and to grant other very reasonable requests which were properly already embodied in Magna Charta.

As the army progressed it grew in strength, every village and hamlet furnishing its quota, until when Blackheath was reached the numbers were most formidable. Until this time the purpose of the army was manifestly peaceable, but as in all large bodies of people hastily brought together the lawless crept into its ranks, and they were ungovernable. Some of them went so far as to compel the Princess of Wales, mother of the king, who was passing, to kiss them, or, rather, as one of the great historians expresses it, they stole kisses from her, an offense most grievous in those days, when the persons of majesty were adjudged absolutely sacred under the law.

Still the leaders held their forces in reasonable check, while they, being deprived by the walls of the city from reaching the

king without violence, sent messengers directing that he be told to attend them. Richard, who was then in the Tower, sailed down the Thames with the intention of complying with their request, but when he drew near and saw evidences of unruliness he deemed it the part of prudence to return.

This proceeding so enraged a large number of the proletariat that they took matters into their own hands by breaking into the city, where they did a number of acts of violence, among which was murder. They formally presented their demand to the king and his advisers, who were most unwilling to comply, although the request was very reasonable indeed. Still, realizing that they could not help themselves, the council persuaded the king to yield, which he finally did in ungracious manner. This satisfied the men, who promptly dispersed and returned peaceably to their respective homes.

But Tyler's command still remained and was unsatisfied. The king with a small retinue came up with this leader at Smithfield, and it is charged that the purpose of Tyler was to slay all except the king, but that the prompt action of Walworth, mayor of London, in cutting down Tyler, who was promptly despatched by others, prevented the consummation of this deed. How the king completely turned the tables by a happy coup in offering himself to be the leader of the crowd, is a well known fact of history. It is not so generally known, however, that the pledges made to the following which entered London were quickly rescinded, for the alleged reason that they were given under duress, and consequently were null and void. Since they were admittedly reasonable and the exactors of these pledges fulfilled their part of the contract by returning home, it would seem that this willful act of perfidy is not justifiable upon any grounds whatsoever.

CHAPTER IV.

JACK CADE, ACHAMBER, SUABIANS, JOSEPH.

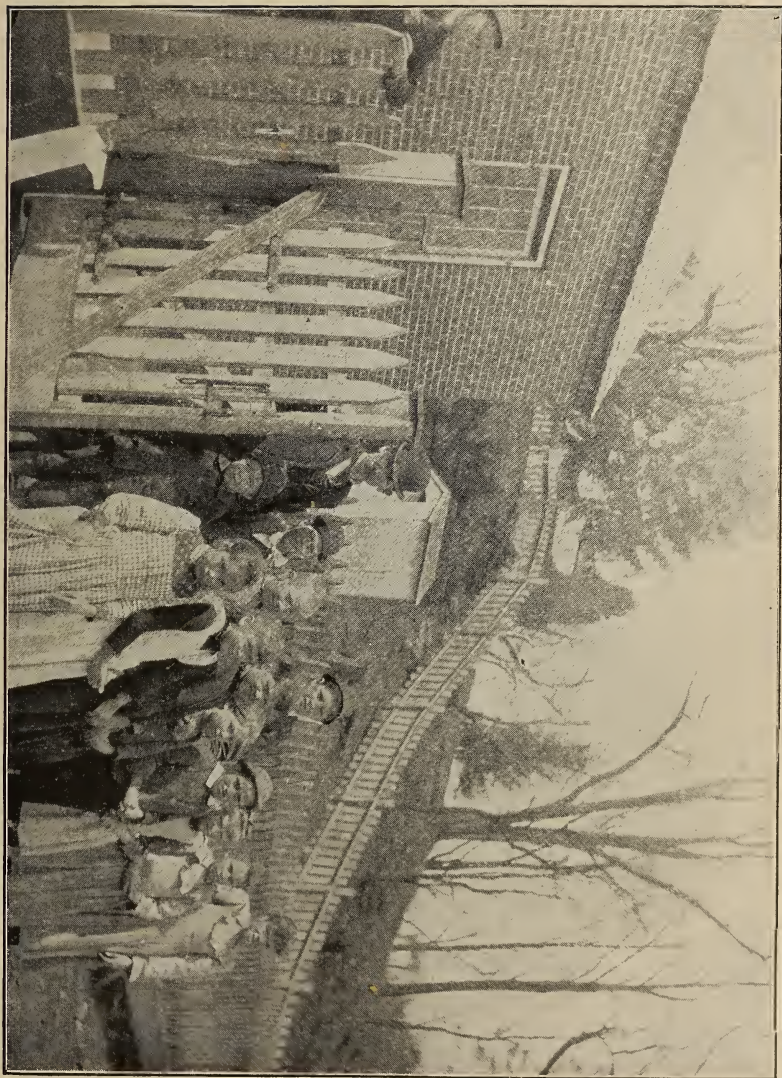
The middle of the fifteenth century witnessed an imposing spectacle in England, and one that excited the whole country because of its magnitude and the pacific spirit that pervaded the great army. This was what is known in history as the Jack Cade insurrection, and it undoubtedly would have resulted in the complete success of the participants but for the final unruliness of its members, who coerced their leaders into the commission of a double crime, which brought down upon the head of the movement the vengeance of the king. This occurred in the year 1450, and the event was excited by the inability of parliament to grapple with the weighty matters of the day. The disorders of the lawmaking body were many. The members were disqualified by incompetency from properly meeting the grave questions of the day, and they enacted measures, the inequality of which oppressed the governed, the chief burden of which iniquities, as is always the case, fell upon the proletariat. The English people have, in all their history, been most loyal to their government, and it is only when extraordinarily oppressive or repressive measures were pressed upon them that they revolted against constituted authority, as when Charles I. decided to govern without any parliament, and his son, James, ignored the oath of office.

The common people of the fifteenth century epoch now referred to submitted in silence, if not in patience, to the wrongs under which they suffered, and impoverished themselves to pay taxes which were the result of parliamentary extravagance and kingly ambition. The low murmurings of discontent heard here and there made no impression upon the thickheaded and corrupt parliament, nor upon the obtuse king. Finally, driven to sheer desperation, the people arose in revolt in various parts of the kingdom, only to be put down by the iron hand of the law. But here was manifested, upon a gigantic scale, a game of Jack-in-the-

box, for as quickly as the populace was pushed down it sprang up again, presenting a formidable and threatening look. These good people were loyal to the king and to their country, but they regarded the outlook as not only subversive of law and order, but as threatening to the maintenance of government itself.

Finally a voice rose up out of the county of Kent, calling upon the proletariat to leave bench and farm and march under law and order to the seat of government, and there lay before king and parliament the grievances which inexorably demanded redress. The voice was that of John Cade, an Irishman, who, because of trouble in his own country, had been compelled to flee to France, from which land he was called by the sufferings of the people. He took the name of John Mortimer, as his enemies declared that he might be accepted by his following as the son of that much loved populist leader, Sir John Mortimer, who was sentenced to death by parliament in the early part of the reign of the present monarch, Henry VI. The court had sent out a small body of troops against Sir John's party, which was moving upon London, and that redoubtable leader of the people engaged it at Sevenoke, the battle resulting in the total destruction of the royalists. This was too much for parliamentary endurance, and the result was that Sir John was tried and executed. But he became a martyr in the eyes of the people, and as such was idolized by them, and it was a wise stroke of policy on the part of Cade to identify himself with the precious memory of that champion of the rights of the proletariat.

Cade was not a violent man. On the contrary, he counseled peace and moderation to his followers, who hourly increased in numbers. The use of firearms was forbidden, and they were not permitted to make any forage upon the larders or stores of the country through which they passed. With London as his objective point he set forward with a large force, which greatly augmented upon each advance journey, while the populace lined the thoroughfares along which it passed, encouraging it with shout and cheer. Not a violent hand was laid upon any living thing, beast or man. The will of the leader was supreme, and every man appeared to be imbued with a high and holy resolve. The irregular tramp of the mighty host made itself heard long before London was in sight, and the nervous king and perturbed parliament found themselves in a most serious predicament. The sturdy tradespeople of the metropolis, who composed the



SCHOOL CHILDREN WATCHING THE PROCESSION.



HENRY VINCENT.

various guilds, and orders had grown so weary of the incompetence and oppressions of parliament that they regarded any kind of a change as a thing to be desired, and they declined to lend money or themselves to a movement for the suppression of the motley army. Besides they learned that Cade's demands were most reasonable indeed, being nothing more than an insistence that certain oppressions of the lords should cease, and that taxes should be a trifle less burdensome. These sentiments found a unanimous subscription in the hearts of the sturdy Londoners, who wished the revolted malcontents Godspeed and victory.

At last the great army camped on Blackheath, the historic ground upon which Tyler and the barons had gathered when they went up to London for satisfaction from those in authority, and it was soon bruited everywhere abroad that the peasantry were in the right and were the real champions of the realm. Emissaries of the king and parliament vainly moved about in London and the environs seeking to persuade men to go to the help of Henry.

"These fellows only seek what we want and they harm nobody," was the universal verdict. "Let the king and parliament do their own fighting." Finding that no recruits could possibly be secured for the putting down of the uprising the council took the king and fled with him to Kenilworth for safety, after which the city fathers opened the gates to Cade and his triumphant hosts, who passed through the walls amid the enthusiastic applause of the inhabitants.

Thus far everything had gone on well. Cade had not made a single enemy because he had recognized all Englishmen as his friends. But just as the Grecians fell before the luxuries of the Persians and as the legions of Rome were corrupted by the blandishments of Athens, so the heavy beer of London, with the seductive wiles of its frail women, tainted the virtue of the populist army, which soon lost its discipline and insisted upon dividing the honors of leadership with the able head of the movement. Cade was no ordinary man, obscure though his origin was, and unused as he might be to command. Realizing the imminent danger of the great city by night, he vigorously required that his entire force should pass out to Blackheath at sunset and only return to the streets after the dawn of day.

But great crowds of undisciplined men are always impatient of delays and ever manifest a disposition to display their strength

and power. Ominous murmurs arose from the ranks, and although Cade sought to close his ears to them, they reached him with such energy that he was compelled to listen—and, alas! for the cause he espoused, to obey. The demand of the army was as cruel as that of the king's daughter, who required that the head of John the Baptist be brought to her on a charger, it being no less than an irresistible insistence that the powerful Lord Say, the treasurer, and Cromer, the high sheriff of Kent, be sacrificed for the sins of parliament and of Henry. Cade resisted with all the strength of his being. His intelligent mind grasped all the points involved in so lawless a proceeding, but his crowd had got away from him. He was their leader only so long as he permitted them to direct his movements, and to save himself he seized the lords, whom in his desperation he put to death without going through the form of a trial.

This proved the death-blow to all his aims and purposes and plans. The Londoners wanted no new masters, and they who had heartily sympathized with the army of peace at once rose against the army of blood. A body of soldiers marched out against Cade, now quartered on Blackheath, and the disorderly multitude fled before constituted authority. In the absence of the king the primate of England, who was the chancellor of the realm, issued a general pardon, with the result that the scattered forces, having accomplished nothing by this great revolt, directed their way homeward. But, as was the general rule in those times, the pardon was annulled and a reward was set upon the head of Cade, who was later killed by one Iden, a gentleman of Sussex. Thus ignobly ended a popular uprising which gave every promise of effecting its worthy purpose and would have surely done so but for the rashness and bloodthirstiness of those whose duty it was to obey rather than to command.

The revolt of John Achamer in 1497 was excited by the same cause that led Tyler's movement against London and that prompted the uprising of the Jacquerie of France, being a vigorous protest against the imposition of a tax which was levied for the ostensible purpose of aiding the Duke of Brittany in his aggressive war, but in reality in order to gratify the greed and rapacity of the king, Henry VII. This uprising is not so familiar to the general reader of history for the reason that Henry, whose hand was one of steel, had his forces well in hand and the expedition

of Achamber came to speedy and untimely grief. Still it was a repetition of the scenes witnessed in previous and subsequent uprisings. Achamber was an obscure personage, but one in whom was radically grounded a purpose of resistance to tyranny in any form and his magnetic voice called about him a great multitude which soon became imbued with his own daring spirit of purpose and execution. The lanes and highways of the kingdom sent out streams of peasantry, who, in their own way, felt that resistance to tyranny was obedience to God. But the trained soldiery were led by skillful captains, who knew no law but their king's, and in a heated engagement Achamber was killed and his forces scattered.

Until after the clarion voice of Luther rang out in Germany, there does not appear to have been any popular demonstration of any magnitude against constituted authority in any part of that country. The fact is that the governments were strong, supported as they were by powerful, trained armies, and the masses yielded a passive obedience to a dominion so vigorous that the proletaires were but little removed from slaves. But after the reformer had brought the omnipotent church into reproach, there was excited here and there throughout the empire a desire on the part of the people for greater liberty, and a disposition to protest against too strong manifestations of kingly tyranny. The year 1524 was especially fruitful of insurrections, this being especially true in Upper Suabia, where the peasants gathered and recited their grievances. They finally left the matter, for arbitration, to a court consisting of the archduke, Ferdinand, elector of Saxony, Luther, Melancthon and several reformer preachers. The articles were twelve in number and the reforms demanded were most moderate. Luther himself admitted their justness, but he had no confidence in the peasantry and he vigorously opposed the granting of them. The nobles, who had for centuries trampled upon the necks of the proletaires, now loudly jeered at their demands, and crowed lustily when the court declined to co-operate in the reforms asked for. Meanwhile the peasants of all southern Germany, incited by excited preachers, uprose and marched hither and thither throughout the country, apparently seeking some constituted authority before which they might lay their grievances. But the arm of the soldiery was long and far-reaching, and the undisciplined commons melted before the strokes of the hireling armies.

Having failed in their peace mission and aim, the peasants of Upper Suabia now uprose in great bodies and pressed forward to a common gathering place, at the first avoiding strife and only led into it by the brutality of the soldiers. Then followed atrocities, which so stirred the wrath of Luther that he called out in thunderous tones for the utter annihilation of the peasants. He became as one of Byron's "Prophets of the past," declaring vehemently, "I told you so; the peasants can not be trusted. Crush them down and hew them in pieces." The robber knight on the Kocher, Goetz von Berlichen, was put in command of the proletaires and the great horde pressed forward, not so much with the idea of fighting as of impressing a sense of their wrongs upon the princes. But princes are not touched of the spirit of infirmity of their people, and they demand, or certainly they did in the sixteenth century, the subservience of other wills to their own. They deemed it the paramount duty of their subjects to bear all things and endure all things for their sakes and denounced the anathema maranatha against every creature who dared to oppose a will to their own despotic authority.

But meanwhile the army of the peasantry steadily swelled as it passed along over the country, crossing the Neckar and advancing into the fruitful valley of the Maine. Now indeed the down-trodden of the ages made their influence felt, and they struck terror into the souls of their oppressors even as far as Frankfurt. The magic of the liberty cry rang out over the country and this great uprising was imitated in various portions of the country, giving the soldiery almost a surfeit of blood and their mailed hands grew weary in their butcher work of coercive repression. Goetz proved himself a fine executive head and held his forces well in hand, supplying their necessities from the country invaded and drilling them in the uses of arms. The whole country was now in revolt as far as Thuringen, and Goetz moved his army upon the ancient city of Wurzburg, which he besieged and captured. The people of that city of learning had but little cause to complain of the quality of mercy shown by their captors, as mercy was known in those days, but they were rejoiced when the free-booter Goetz, flushed with victory marched to Frauenberg. This great upheaval by the lower stratum of German life soon subsided, as it came, by violence. The odds were too many against the peasantry, who had arrayed against them the wealth and edu-

cation of Germany, as well as the picked troops of other countries, it being the custom of royalty in the sixteenth century to hold itself secure in a sort of universal trust—the king of one country being constrained under the compact to go to the help of another king against his revolted subjects. Goetz's devoted adherents collided with the regulars, and this redoubtable leader, with Metzler and other populist generals, incontinently fled, leaving the poor fellows to the points of the swords of their captors, thousands of the peasants being brutally slain.

Nine years after the revolt of John Achamber, or in the year of grace and kingly tyranny, 1497, and during the reign of the same monarch, Henry VII., the people of Cornwall arose in revolt against kingly usurpation and dictation to parliament. This pliant body had yielded, against what he knew to be the popular opposition, to the demand of Henry for permission to impose a burdensome tax for the raising of money for the purpose of waging war upon the Scots, a nation with which the common people of England desired to be at peace.

Here again was witnessed a popular demonstration having for its object the presenting of a living petition to parliament and the king. Michael Joseph an obscure man and a farmer with Thomas Flammoc, a lawyer, both of them men of rough but persuasive eloquence, raised up a great body of the people and started for London. The object and aim of the movement was pacific in the extreme. The masses were practically unarmed and were composed of a motley but very earnest crew, which was thoroughly obedient to the leaders. There were accretions on each day's journey, so that the matter of feeding the host soon became a subject of great importance. They were supplied, however, by the country through which they passed, whether the donatives were heartily given or not. As in similar movements in this day and generation there was manifested a disposition on the part of each community to hurry them forward to the next and the next, fear of overt acts of treason or violence being chiefest in the souls of the peaceful stay-at-homes. On the army passed through the county of Devon and reached Somerset. At Wells Lord Audley, a vain, ambitious and restless spirit was made general-in-chief, and the forces were greatly augmented when the gates of London were reached.

Henry was naturally an impulsive fellow who was often given

to hasty actions for which he subsequently repented at his leisure. But in this instance he temporized in order to strengthen himself. The petitioning hosts, unread in history and untaught in the treachery of kings, rested quietly on Blackheath in daily expectation of a message from Henry granting their just demands, while that wily ruler was quickly gathering together his army which had been raised for the invasion of Scotland. When all was ready he caused it, a body of 16,000 men, to move rapidly, as pounces the falcon upon its prey, and the three leaders, Audley, Joseph and Flammoc, were captured and put to death. Their followers were surrounded and nearly all of them taken prisoners. The strangest part of the entire proceedings is that Henry should have released and pardoned all of the Cornish men and permitted them to return to their respective homes. Usually in those days alleged rebellious subjects were made to feel the fire and sword, and the Cornish fellows went back utterly amazed at the quality of mercy shown by their king.

The reign of Mary was a stormy one in more senses than one, the burning religious question coming up between her and her lordly as well as her plebeian subjects. Among the many manifestations of discontent because of her sway was a movement inaugurated by Sir Thomas Wiatt in 1554. This assumed large proportions and for a brief period it seemed as though momentous results would follow his uprising. His march toward London was a triumphant one, the sympathy of the great body of the people being strongly manifested in his favor. But he speedily came to grief, a body of the queen's troops having encountered his forces and scattered them far and wide, the turbulent leader himself being slain early in the engagement. The matter is deserving of mention as showing an ever present spirit of resistance to existing evils and a disposition to seize opportunities which seem to promise a redressal of wrong.

More than two hundred years later there was exhibited at London one of the most extraordinary popular demonstrations ever seen in any country, the very doors of the parliament house being besieged by a mob which persistently demanded the enactment of an anti-Catholic statute. The master genius of Dickens has vividly portrayed this great outbreak in his immortal *Barnaby Rudge*, whose descriptive pages fairly glow with the realistic scenes of carnage that followed the denial of the petition. Lord

George Gordon was a well meaning but misguided if not a demented man, who thought he saw in the attitude of the Catholics of England a menace to good government, and he went about the country stirring up the people to peaceful resistance. Nothing was farther from his thoughts than bloodshed. He merely insisted upon the right of petition and that by living persons, word of mouth, as it were. A poor judge of human nature and deceived utterly by his wily secretary, a renegade Catholic, he permitted to be gathered into his following thousands of ragamuffin wretches who cared nothing for Catholic or Protestant, but were ready for any outbreak against authority as promising opportunity for robbery and looting. Lord George had the air and spirit of the martyr on the day that witnessed the procession of his henchmen before the parliament building and was surprised beyond measure that they were not permitted to enter the legislative halls to emphasize this indorsement.

Disappointed at the overwhelming defeat of Gordon, or, rather, making it a pretext, the wretched band stretched itself out over the city, releasing criminals, destroying prisons, applying the torch to residences and warehouse, drenching itself with strong drink and filling London with desolation for the space of three days, or until the cowardly authorities could muster courage sufficient among them all to put down the revolt. Alas! for authority, for the acts of the executors of law were scarcely less cruel than those of the ignorant and vicious rabble. The gibbet was kept busy for many weeks in revenging the outraged majesty of public peace, and youth and innocence did not escape the wrath of justice! Gordon escaped punishment for his part in the great tragedy, but he ended his days in prison, whither he was sent because of an outrageous libel he had uttered against a foreign queen whose country was then at peace with his own. Before his incarceration Gordon recanted his protestantism and was formally admitted into the Jewish church in which belief he died, faithfully attended in prison by a lovely and chaste Hebrew maiden, who was impelled to her strange action by a strong religious impulse.

Paris affords numerous instances of great popular uprisings and processions for the purpose of exacting redress of existing wrongs, the most notable of which were, that in the childhood of Louis XIV., when the minister and husband of the queen was plotting to remove the young king from Paris, and the numerous

movements of the populace in those stirring times that just antedated the rush of the revolution in which the pent up wrongs of the people found outlet in streams of blood. In our own country the Mormon exodus to Utah was a movement not directed upon the legislative halls, but one to escape persecution for opinion's sake in the fastnesses of the far off mountains.

More recently there have been popular uprisings in Russia directed against the maladministration of the communal authorities, the despotism of whom in many instances is most galling, and last year there was witnessed a populist demonstration directed against the Belgian capital, but that like those in the country of the czar proved abortive.

The Coxey movement differs from all the cases cited in that it seeks the enactment of laws designed, as its leaders earnestly profess, to benefit the toiling masses, and not the repeal of statutes of themselves obnoxious. In other words, the mission is creative and not destructive. The chief, as well as Kelly and the heads of the various other armies that have sprung up all over the country and that are marching toward Washington proclaim a gospel dispensation of peace and amity. Insisting upon the right to be heard, they propose to present their wishes to the national lawmakers direct and pacifically abide the issues of the great contention. History is chiefly valuable, as it affords parallels and experiences for the guidance of the living, and they are wise who profit by its lessons. The world of nature is undergoing mutations now as it has been since the morning stars first sang together and the sons of God shouted for joy. Governments are mutable and history is chiefly a record of the ruins of empires and the causes leading to their overthrow. But the principles of justice and right can never change. As they were in the beginning, so are they now and so will they continue so long as the spirit of man finds an abiding place upon earth or elsewhere. Wrong and oppression may prevail for ages, and men may make grievous mistakes in their efforts to correct them, but in the end the mightiness of truth will be established and the reign of justice tempered with blessed mercy shall be universal and perpetual.

CHAPTER V.

COXEY AND HIS AIMS.

The great Commonweal movement, which had its birth in Massillon in the latter months of the year 1893, and that first began to attract general attention in the first month of the present year, has at its head a man of resolute courage, who is undaunted of obstacles and persistent of purpose. In order to get a proper estimate of the movement itself, it is needful that the life and character of the man should be known, as well as the objects and aims of his great undertaking.

Jacob Selcher Coxey, president of the Coxey Good Roads Association, is a native of Pennsylvania, where in his early days he spent ten years as a laborer in the iron mills before emigrating west to engage in Ohio, since which time he has owned and operated large interests in farming and stock-raising, making a specialty of blooded racing horses. More recently he has also operated extensive quarries, from which supplies of silica are taken for the glass foundries in Indiana and Pittsburg. He is reputed by his neighbors to be worth two hundred thousand dollars, and his standing in the community is that of a worthy and honest man. It is related of him that in all these years as an employer he has never missed a pay day nor had a strike among his men. Of a generous, open-hearted disposition, intensely in earnest, his money and combined energies are brought into requisition to further any project that appeals to his sense of right. In 1892 he drafted a bill which was introduced before Congress, embodying the same demands as his present good roads measure; and its manner of reception (landing, as usual with bills of that nature, in the waste basket or a pigeon hole) determined him upon a more radical effort. Carl Browne was introduced into the campaign of '93, the acquaintance there formed ripened into a friendship, and together they conceived the march to Washington. Mr. Coxey, with his large business interests, not having the

time to devote to arranging details, placed the whole matter in Browne's hands, supplying the money and other necessities, so that it could be pushed free from embarrassments.

In personal characteristics Mr. Coxey is a very retiring, unassuming gentleman, shrinks from rather than courts applause, and no offers of money or emoluments can divert him from the pursuit of this fixed purpose, as numerous incidents in the course of this narrative will amply demonstrate. During the winter of '93 and '94 Messrs. Browne and Coxey held frequent meetings in and about the city of Massillon agitating these bills and awakening public interest in their contemplated project; a platform was formulated along this line and the city ticket named, which formed the basis for an unusually active winter campaign, particularly so for that region. Very naturally the public looked with a measure of disdain upon the announcement that a march to Washington was to be started, but that did not deter the two movers from pushing ahead their plans.

A few weeks previous to the start a son was born to Mr. Coxey, whom he says he named "Legal Tender," his explanation of which runs as follows: "My idea in naming my boy in this manner," said he, "is that in after years as he grows up people will naturally inquire, 'What is the meaning of that name? What do you mean?' and questions of like import. It will ever be a pertinent reminder of the sovereign right of government to use its own full legal tender as money, and that nothing else is money."

This incident is related to illustrate the characteristic earnestness with which Mr. Coxey enters into everything he takes hold of, and the novel methods he employs for impressing lessons and examples on economic problems.

The objects and aims of Mr. Coxey are those of a very earnest man, who, apparently, has studied them long and earnestly and has adopted them as a sort of religion. These views are set forth and explained by him in a speech which he made at Camp California, Williamsport, Md., April 18 of this year. Referring to his plans, Mr. Coxey said in his characteristic style:

"The aim and object of this march to Washington has been to awaken the attention of the whole people to a sense of their duty in impressing upon Congress the necessity for giving immediate relief to the four million of unemployed people, and their immediate families, consisting of twelve million to fifteen million

more. The idea of the march is to attract the attention of the whole people of this country to the greatest question that has ever been presented to them—the money question. Believing that the people can only digest one idea at a time, it was necessary to get up some attraction that would overshadow other matters and have their minds centered upon this one idea and to understand it intelligently.

“Knowing that this march would consume thirty-five days from Massillon to Washington, that it would attract their attention and we could present this money feature to them in an impressive sense and a business manner and thus be able to educate them more in six weeks’ time than through any one political party in ten years.

“Our plan is to arrive at Washington by May 1, next, and camp there until Congress takes some action upon the two bills that have been presented to them by Senator Pepper, viz.: ‘The Good Roads Bill’ and ‘The Non-interest Bearing Bond Bill.’ Believing that the unemployed people and the business men of this country whose interests are identical will try and get to Washington the first week in May, from three hundred thousand to five hundred thousand strong. In this manner they will bring the strongest impression to bear upon Congress coming through the common people that has ever been made in the history of this country.

“So long as Congress can keep the people isolated from each other all over the land, they will never grant them any relief, but when they come in a body like this, peaceably to discuss their grievances and demanding immediate relief, Congress can no longer turn a deaf ear, but will heed them and do it quickly.

“The full text of the bill before Congress by which to build good roads, according to my plan, is as follows:

“SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled: That the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States is hereby authorized and instructed to have engraved and printed, immediately after the passage of this bill, five hundred millions of dollars of treasury notes, a legal tender for all debts, public and private, said notes to be in denominations of one, two, five and ten dollars, and to be placed in a fund to be known as the ‘general county road fund system of the United States,’ and to be expended solely for said purpose,

"SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of War to take charge of the construction of the said General County Road System in the United States, and said construction to commence as soon as the Secretary of the Treasury shall inform the Secretary of War that the said fund is available, which shall not be later than —————; when it shall be the duty of the Secretary of War to inaugurate the work and expend the sum of twenty millions of dollars per month, pro rata, with the number of miles of roads in each state and territory in the United States.

"SEC. 3. Be it further enacted, That all labor other than that of the Secretary of War, 'whose compensations are already fixed by law,' shall be paid by the day, and that the rate be not less than one dollar and fifty cents per day for common labor, and three dollars and fifty cents per day for team and labor, and that eight hours per day shall constitute a day's labor under the provisions of this bill.

"Now the propositions are, that Congress shall issue and appropriate five hundred million dollars of full legal tender treasury notes to the states and territories, pro rata, with the number of miles of roads in each state and territory at the rate of twenty million dollars per month, for the improvements of the public roads of this country, and to give employment to the unemployed in making these improvements. Another provision of this bill says that all labor shall be generally by the day—no contract labor—and the rate shall be not less than one dollar and fifty cents per day of eight hours.

"This will settle the eight hour question, because it brings into competition the government, which stands ready at all times to employ the idle labor in making public roads at one dollar and fifty cents per day for a day of eight hours, and no employer of labor outside of the government will be able to employ a single man for less than one dollar and fifty cents per day of eight hours, so this will practically settle the eight hour question.

"The other matter under consideration is the Non-interest Bearing Bond Bill, now before Congress, as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled, that whenever any state, territory, county, township, municipality, or incorporated town or village deem it necessary to make any public improvements, they shall deposit

with the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States a non-interest bearing, twenty-five-year bond, not to exceed one-half the assessed valuation of the property in said state, territory, county, township, municipality, or incorporated town or village, and said bond to be retired at the rate of four per cent per annum.

"Whenever the foregoing section of this act has been complied with, it shall be mandatory upon the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States to have engraved and printed treasury notes in the denominations of one, two, five, ten and twenty dollars each, which shall be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, to the face value of said bond, and deliver to said state, territory, county, township, municipality, or incorporated town or village ninety-nine per cent of said notes, and retain one per cent for expense of engraving and printing same.

"This non-interest, twenty-five-year bond bill grants to all states, counties, townships, municipalities, towns or villages the right to draw their non-interest, twenty-five-year bond, not to exceed one-half the assessed valuation of their entire property, and to deposit the same with the Secretary of the Treasury at Washington. It will then be mandatory upon him to issue the face value of these bonds in full legal tender treasury notes of the denominations of one, two, five, ten and twenty dollars each, returning ninety-nine per cent of those notes to the states, counties, townships, municipalities, towns or villages depositing these bonds, and the government retaining one per cent for the expense of engraving the treasury notes. The parties so receiving the money agree to repay it back at the rate of four per cent per annum, or in twenty-five annual installments without interest.

"This will enable the states, counties, townships, municipalities, towns or villages to make all the public improvements that they will need for all time to come without paying one cent of tribute to any one in the shape of usury. They will be enabled to build their statehouses, their insane asylums, courthouses, infirmaries and schoolhouses. All municipalities can build their own markethouses, public libraries, museums, enginehouses, schoolhouses, and public halls where people can come and discuss all questions that interest them; pave their own streets; own and build their own electric light plants, water works, street railroads, and other public improvements that are a convenience and comfort, and promote the advancement of the whole people.

"After this system of public improvements is inaugurated, it will settle the money question, as it will supply all the money needed for the public convenience, and to develop the resources of the country, and not one dollar can go into circulation without a service being rendered and the value credited to the government direct in the shape of public improvements, which will be beneficial to all.

"This will supply actual money in place of confidence money. This will substitute a cash system for a credit or script system. The business of this country has been done on confidence money. Now that the confidence has vanished, business has also vanished.

"One year ago we had in circulation \$1,500,000,000 in actual money, \$1,000,000,000 of which was in the hands of the people making the small exchanges, \$500,000,000 was in the banks and bank reserves, and upon these reserves the banks of this country had created \$4,000,000,000 of confidence money, and by the conspiracy of the money lenders of Europe in throwing their securities upon our markets and converting them into gold and withdrawing the gold from the country. Thus through the continued agitation of the daily press claiming that if the government did not stop the further purchase of silver through the Sherman bill, it would drive gold out of this country and would create a panic.

"They did, through these means scare the small depositors and employes of the country into withdrawing their savings and deposits from the banks, and when employers went to the banks to get accommodations in the shape of discounts, the banker said, 'Self-preservation being the first law of nature, I must protect my depositors, and cannot therefore, discount your paper.'

"The manufacturer, expecting that there would be no trouble in using the paper that he had taken in payment for his goods, was nonplused and compelled to close down his works on account of not being able to realize upon this paper. This then became general throughout the country, business men were compelled to suspend, and thousands of millions of credit was affected. The paper confidence money which had been transacting the business of the country just the same as the actual money did, commenced to vanish, and as it vanished business vanished with it; workshops became idle and are now rusting away; men were thrown out of employment, and now devastation and ruin have spread over our land.

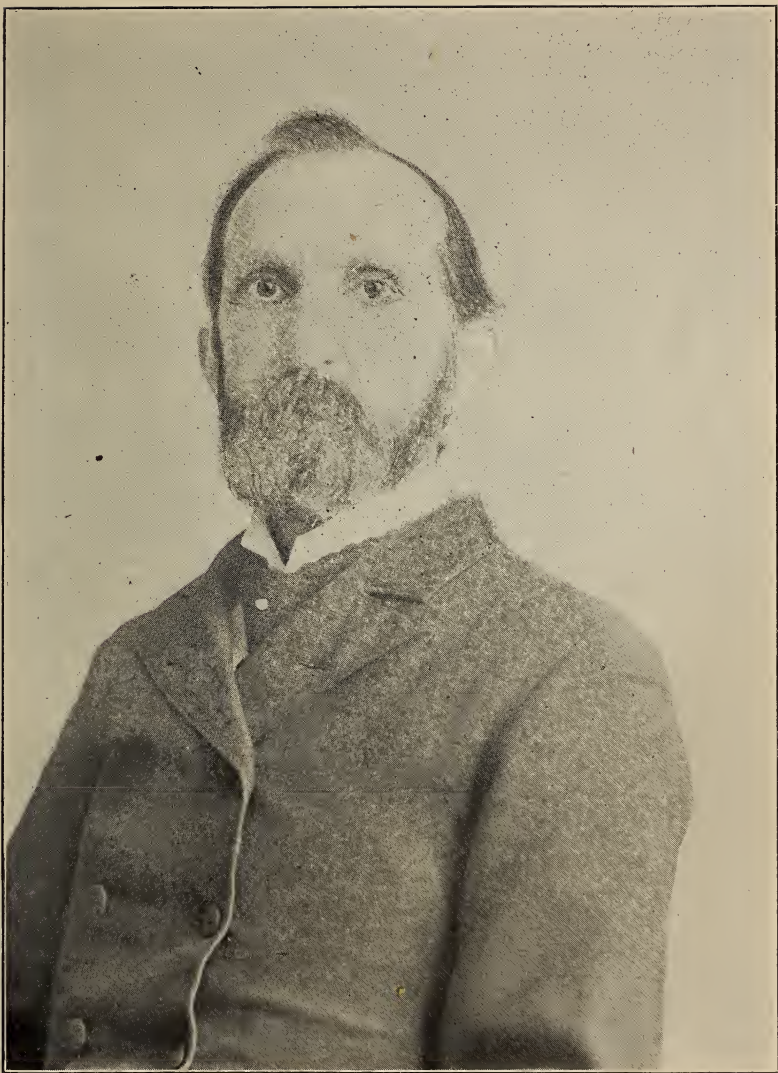
"To cap the climax, when the money famine was at its height, President Cleveland called an extra session of Congress to repeal the Sherman act, which act did increase the volume of money at the rate of four million dollars per month. Had it been left upon the statute books, it would have made money a little easier, and by repealing that act business has become worse. There is little hope for the future in a business sense unless the two measures mentioned are passed. These would give immediate relief to the unemployed, in making public improvements and substitute actual money in place of confidence money that has already vanished, thus taking away all possibility of panics and hard times in the future and make it an impossibility for a man to seek work without finding it."

CHAPTER VI.

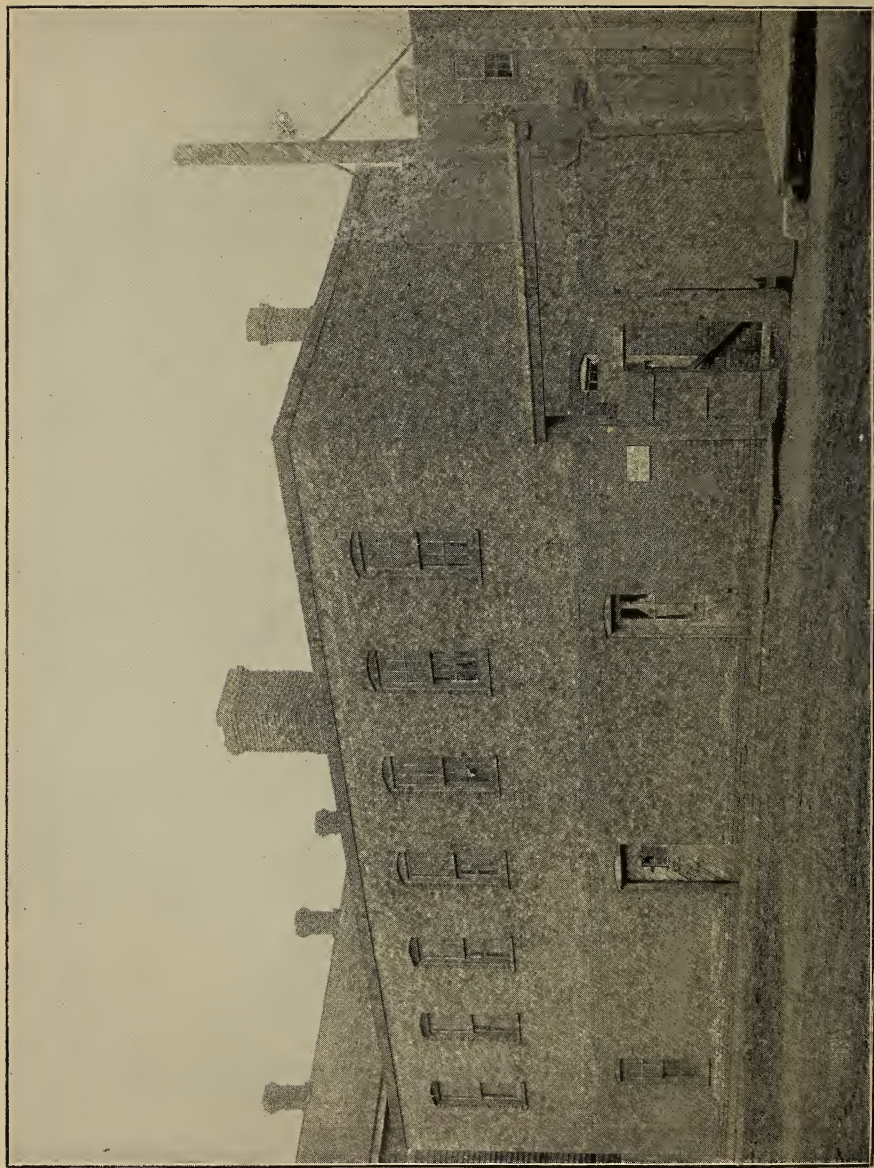
START OF THE COMMONWEAL.

Having a proper understanding of the objects and aims of the Commonwealth as set forth by the leader of the movement, the reader is now invited to observe the start of the Coxey force on its great journey to the Capitol of the Nation: At noon on Easter Sunday, and a little in advance of the advertised time, the Commonwealth marched out of Massillon. A large crowd of people had assembled to witness its departure, and as the army moved through the public square of the city of its birth, there were in its ranks, by actual count, just 122 people on foot, horseback and in wagons. At the head of the column was the official standard of the army, carried by an aid, and the American flag, in the hands of Jasper Johnson, a brawny negro, of Buchanan, W. Va., who is one of Coxey's earliest recruits from that place.

Carl Browne, marshal, came next mounted on a magnificent white horse, clad in high top boots, corduroy trousers, buckskin jacket, a fur overcoat and a huge sombrero. Supporting him was "Doc" Kirkland, of Pittsburg, with two aids. Behind these was President Coxey, seated in his phaeton, to which was attached a beautiful pair of spirited horses driven by a negro coachman. Mrs. Coxey, her little son and Miss Jones drove with the army to its first stopping place, at Reedurban, four miles distant. The day was cold and raw, and the grotesque, not to say pitiable, appearance of the nondescript gathering gave strong grounds for the humorous and half sarcastic accounts sent out by the newspaper men and the associated press of the first breaking of camp and the beginning of the long march to Washington. At 2 P. M. Reedurban was reached and a halt was made for luncheon. This first halt was one of the most critical points in the whole march. As already stated the weather was extremely disagreeable, snowing most of the time, accompanied by a piercing wind which chilled to the marrow the best clad men in the



DR. RANDALL.



CHICAGO HEADQUARTERS, COXEY ARMY.

army. Many of them, however, had no overcoats, so that their sufferings during that first half day's march were indeed severe and well calculated to test their courage and powers of endurance. Despite these trying and disheartening conditions, there were no desertions worth mentioning, and at 4 p. m. the army reached Canton, stronger in numbers than when it left Massillon. Here its reception was no less enthusiastic in character than that accorded at Reedurban. By this time the newspapers had already heralded far and wide that attachment proceedings had been begun by certain of Mr. Coxey's creditors for the sole purpose of disarranging his plans and of staying the progress of the Commonwealth movement. Citizens of Canton, justly indignant at this proposed treatment, had appointed a committee to prepare an address to the country calling for funds to aid Mr. Coxey in the same manner the people had been given the opportunity a short time before to contribute to the financial relief of Ohio's distinguished chief executive.

The scenes attendant upon the entrance of the Commonwealth into Canton were, to say the least, impressive. Fully twenty thousand people gathered in the street and greeted its approach with hearty cheers, in which it was observed that the squad of special police, which had been hastily organized to preserve order, joined as warmly as did the citizens in general. Marshal Browne on his milk-white steed at the head of the column, formed the picturesque figure he has so often been described as making. Behind him came the rank and file, marching two abreast, bearing their banners, and with happy faces and proud and independent bearing they looked much more the embodiment of American manhood than is often seen in anti-election processions in the cities. To be sure there were in that body of men characters well worthy the pencil of any sketch artist. Old and young, ragged and well clothed, hungry and well fed, the clean and the dirty were all there, but all seemed cheerful and determined of purpose.

Camp was pitched in a vacant woodlot adjoining the city workhouse and at the outset some trouble was had with an individual who owned the adjacent premises, and who, misled by reports as to the character of the army, bitterly protested against its too intimate proximity. He was soon taken, however, with the prevailing fever of friendly enthusiasm and his open hostility soon turned into the heartiest co-operation and support. That night

speeches were made by both Coxey and Browne, and were listened to by large and attentive crowds. President Coxey stated in his utterances that up to that hour the movement had fully come up to his full expectations and that as a peace army it had already demonstrated it needed no police surveillance. Turning to his own followers he said: "You have here a sample of the people's thoughtful sympathy, shown in the wagonloads of bread, meat and provisions with which they have so liberally provided us. And as they read of this movement and its progress toward their localities there will be no lack of sustenance to enable the army to continue its march to Washington."

The night at Canton was bitterly cold, and the big tent not being large enough to hold all the men, quite a number were lodged in the city hall. Camp was broken the following morning at 10 o'clock, and the march to Louisville, a distance of twelve miles, was made in less than three hours, the army arriving with nearly one hundred more men than it had on reaching Canton.

At Louisville an incident occurred which not only was a vindication of the character of the men composing the Commonwealth, but also established the claims made that it was purely a peace organization. It appears that a resident of the town had missed a valuable watch, and very naturally its disappearance was charged to the Commonwealthers. Marshal Browne promptly had the body of men drawn up in line and every man was thoroughly searched. It is hardly necessary to say that no watch was discovered, while the additional fact was brought out that in all that body of men there were no weapons of any kind, beyond a few harmless jackknives.

The start from Canton, however, had been delayed for two hours on account of the receipt, by associated press dispatches, of Senator Stewart's letter to Mr. Coxey, who immediately prepared his reply and gave it to the public through the same channels. The senator's letter, which attracted much attention at the time, is as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE, March 24, 1894.

GENERAL J. S. COXEY, Massillon, Ohio:

Dear Sir:—The preservation of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness was intrusted to the people under the Constitution of the United States. A free ballot was the means by which the

sovereign people could retain the rights acquired by the patriots who gained the independence and established the government of the United States. There was a time when the ballot placed the control of the government in Washingtons, Jeffersons Jacksons and Lincolns. Such use of the ballot sent terror and dismay to tyrants, despots, and plundering oligarchies throughout the world. The enemies of justice and human rights predicted that the success of the ballot was temporary; that man was not capable of self-government. The destruction of ancient republics and the repeated failures of the people to govern themselves was cited in proof of their contention that despotism, oppression and slavery were the fate of the human race. There have been no Washingtons, Jeffersons, Jacksons or Lincolns elected President of the United States in the two decades. A soulless despot of alien origin is monarch of the commercial world. His name is money. His servants are administrative and legislative bodies. The army you are collecting used the ballot to put the army, the navy, and the treasury department under the control of banks and bondholders and place in the halls of Congress representatives to do the bidding of the money-changers.

The ides of November are approaching. An opportunity for the people to strike for liberty will again be presented. The old parties, which have surrendered the rights of the people to the rule of concentrated capital, will ask for a renewal of their lease of power at the ballot box. Every movement of the people to obtain relief outside of the forms of law will be denounced as anarchy. The purse strings of the nation are held by Congress under the dictation of the administration, and the President is commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States. The attempt of a starving multitude to march to Washington will furnish an excuse for using the power of the governments of the states, and of the United States to put down anarchy and insurrection. The vigor with which the laws will be executed against starving people will be an argument in the next election for continuing in power concentrated capital as necessary for the maintenance of law and order. The sufferings of the people are the result of electing the men to office who do the bidding of the money powers, which by legislation and administration have destroyed more than one-half the metallic money of the world and cornered the other half. Twenty years of uninterrupted rule

of banks and bondholders have concentrated the wealth of the world in the hands of the few, and enabled them to seize the telegraph, the press, and nearly every other avenue through which the people can obtain information of the cunning devices by which the parasites absorb what the masses produce. There is but one battlefield where the forces of liberty and equality can meet and overthrow the enemy of human rights. There is no law now on the statute books authorizing the President of the United States to march an army against the people at the ballot box. Every attempt to place the ballot under the control of federal authority has thus far been successfully resisted. Let your army be reinforced by the millions of the unemployed and by the wealth producers of the nation, and be thoroughly mobilized for the battle in November, when a victory for the rights of man against the despotism of banks and bonds is possible.

Abandon the folly of marching an unarmed multitude of starving laborers against the modern appliances of war under the control of a soulless money trust. Such folly will augment the power of the oppressor and endanger the safety of the ballot itself. Disorder is all that is required to insure the supremacy of the armed forces of the money powers at the polls. The Constitution of the United States is our charter of liberty. It has been subverted by an oligarchy of concentrated wealth. False agents of the people have betrayed their trust and brought misery and want when abundance and prosperity seemed assured. Traitors to human rights have usurped the power of the government through the machinery of party and the arts of demagogues. Hurl them from power. Trust no man who has once deceived you. Let the government of the United States be administered for and not against the people. Use the ballot to protect liberty, justice and equal rights, and not to elevate to power the agents of banks and bonds to perpetuate the rule of an oligarchy of wealth.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM M. STEWART.

To this letter Mr. Coxey replied briefly as follows: "DEAR SIR: I have seen your letter in the newspapers addressed 'General Coxey.' Allow me to inform you that I am not a general. I am simply the president of the J. S. Coxey Good Roads Association of the United States and ex-officio of the Commonwealth of Christ. I am not heading an army, no matter how much a subsi-

dized press, at the dictation of a money power, tries to make this appear, and all the epithets hurled at us as being anarchists or a mob get more weight from ill-advised admissions by our friends than all else besides. The warfare of the silver men against gold and bonds under your leadership in the United States Senate was magnificent. The morning dispatches state that even the President of the United States is engaged in a deal with Wall street to veto the Bland seigniorage bill in the sole interest of gold. So the die is cast. We shall march on peaceably and depend upon the outpouring of a peaceful public to defend us from Pinkerton's policemen, military, soldiers of petty party politicians. This is a non-partisan movement and he who is not with us is against us; there is not room for neutral ground, and that a house divided against itself cannot stand is as true today as when originally uttered and used in the dark days of the Civil war by Abraham Lincoln, the father of the legal tender. Following in his footsteps we seek to dethrone gold, as our forefathers did King George in 1776, and once more have legal tender money such as would be if the two Coxey bills are passed. Now we have followed your leadership, advocating the bill for unlimited coinage of silver as money, and if we are to judge of the silver men by you, looked upon as you are as their mouthpiece, your attitude in slighting this movement as folly places you and the silver men you represent in an unenviable position as the ally of our common enemy—gold. Thus the rubicon has been crossed by the silver forces and we cannot falter. The fiat must now go forth—demonetization of gold as well as silver. Yours,

J. S. COXEY."

The band camped for the night at Louisville, and on the following morning set out for Alliance, facing a driving snowstorm and trudging along almost impassable roads, but, despite these conditions, made the journey of nearly fourteen miles in about three hours. The reception here was a most cordial one. A local committee, headed by D. W. Smith, a leading business man, had secured the fair grounds for a camping place and provided an abundance of provisions. Fully three thousand people assembled to see the men enter the city, and later in the afternoon gathered in the opera house to listen to speeches made by Browne and Coxey, whose utterances were frequently loudly cheered. In the evening Marshal Browne spoke in the same hall, and a collection to aid the movement netted nearly fifty dollars.

CHAPTER VII.

ALLIANCE TO SEWICKLY.

Cheerily the Commonweal continued on its long journey, although the next march, that from Alliance to Salem was a terrible one. The roads were heavy, and, in some places, the mud was almost bottomless. Again and again the heavy commissary and camp wagons became stalled and the men had to be called back to help extricate them. It was the general comment that the condition of the highways over which the body was now moving certainly warranted the formation of a good road's association of some sort. At this time and while the army was undergoing these terrible experiences, the special correspondent of the *Pittsburg Dispatch* telegraphed to his paper the following brief but graphic pen picture of the movement and those of the determined men engaged in it. Said: "Every mile that is now made, every camp that is reached, makes it more and more certain that the march to Washington will be finished, and the increasing encouragement extended as the army stalks on gives rise to a belief that once it does reach there, there will be many from along the route traversed and other points to meet it. The movement is beginning to assume a grim soberness that now robs it of some of the fun those not in sympathy with the Coxey plan of forcing Congress to pass certain bills have been having out of it."

The men reached Salem about 3 o'clock of the 28th and found the streets crowded with people who had been waiting since noon for their coming. John W. Northrop, mayor of the city, had on the previous day prepared the citizens for the coming of the Commonweal by issuing a proclamation in which he said:

"This movement on the part of Mr. Coxey and his friends is unique and liable to draw to his following some erratic human specimens, some good and zealous people and some others not so desirable who sometimes follow whatever comes along for

novelty or for plunder. These people may be all strangers, but they are American citizens, and as long as they are peaceable they have a right to proceed.

"All citizens are cautioned not to give any one connected with the procession provocation to feel insulted. All acts of a riotous nature by anyone during the advent of the army of peace, either by stranger or citizen, will be promptly checked."

This somewhat unique but kindly message was in the main quite correct; for while the body was daily growing dirtier every mile it traveled, yet there was an unmistakable improvement in the personnel of its numbers. Marshal Browne had given the "hobo" element permission to avail themselves of freight-train privileges in getting from town to town, and this left only, as Mayor Northrop had put it "the erratic ones and the good but zealous ones" in line. These were men, many of whom had come from the farms, others who had really tried to find work and failing in that, had joined the movement in the hope of bettering their condition.

Charles S. Bousall, of the Buckeye Engine Works, was the principal host of the army at Salem, though he had many earnest assistants in other citizens. He did much good work in collecting provisions and in securing halls in which to hold meetings. At this place, too, much interest was taken in the movement from the fact that about eight years ago one J. S. Willets went there from Midway, Pa., and organized a small church. In addition to preaching the Gospel he also indulged in some remarkable prophecies, which were published at the time and which are still extant. Among these prophecies was one known as No. 5, and in which it was said that in 1894 a great army would march across the country and besiege Washington. He declared that a great spirit of unrest would spring up among the people and that a revolutionary movement would be inaugurated. This fact may or may not have had something to do with the reception given the army of this place. The day's march from Alliance to Salem was a fearful test of the men's staying powers and of their faith in the movement, but at its close all who saw that travel-stained body of men felt that the movement was no joke, but stern, sober reality.

On leaving Salem for Columbiana, the Commonweal had milder weather, but the roads were still very bad. On the way to the latter place two mining towns, Washingtonville and Leetonia, were passed and brief stops made at each. At Washingtonville

several hundred miners were out on a strike against a reduction of twenty per cent in wages that ran from seventy to eighty cents per day. These unfortunate men stood in sullen silence and watched the Commonweal move through their village, if anything a sorrier, more disheartened lot of fellows than were their brethren who had taken to the road for the purpose of bettering their condition. It had been predicted that when the army reached Leetonia the miners there would cause trouble, as it was reported they had taken a strong dislike to Marshal Browne and his peculiar religious views. On the contrary, it was given a very cordial reception. The deserted nail works were fitted up as barracks, and provisions of all kinds, including also a plentiful quantity of tobacco, was supplied.

It was here that Marshal Browne in a speech lost his temper and characterized the newspaper men as argus-eyed demons of hell who were following the movement only to throw discredit upon it by mirepresenting its character and its mission. In reality Mr. Browne did not intend his remarks for the newspaper men who were with the army, but the associated press men. The boys understanding this took the matter as a joke and straightway organized the A. E. D. of H., which oath-bound, joke-loving organization is still traveling with the movement and reporting faithfully, through its members, the events of its daily marches toward Washington.

At Leetonia the body was met by a company of twenty-five horsemen, who acted as its escort from that place to Columbiana, where President Coxey again joined his followers, having just returned from a trip to Chicago, whither he had been called on important business. He was warmly greeted, both by the Commonweal and the citizens. In fact, at no point between Massillon and Beaver Falls, was the reception accorded to the movement so universal and genuinely cordial as at Columbiana. A splendid camping ground had been provided, and an old mill fitted up for speaking quarters. Food of every description was furnished in abundance. The citizens seemed to vie with each other in extending aid and comfort to the men and in doing all in their power to make them welcome. Among those most active in this respect was a Mr. Holloway, an old and respected resident of the place, who dropped down in the street and expired almost instantly. This sad event happened before the Commonweal had been in the

town an hour and immediately after the reception to it had been given, and in which the old gentleman had taken a most prominent part. It was the one thing which threw a gloom over what had been, otherwise, the brightest day since the army had started on its march.

Another incident illustrating how the politicians, in one instance, at least, regarded the movement occurred here. After the evening meeting had been held in the old mill, a party boss approached Marshal Browne and said: "You are pretty smart people, Mr. Browne. You do what we cannot do; you get folks out to attend your meetings and then you pump your doctrines right into them. Why, man, it will take us ten years to undo the work you have done tonight."

The following morning the march to East Palestine was begun, and a stop was made at noon at the little village of New Waterford. East Palestine was reached at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of Friday. There were no preparations made for the Commonwealth, and the reception, if such it could be called, was far from cordial. Before the army left, however, the people thawed out, and the business men donated provisions and supplies of various kinds in liberal quantities.

The approach to the Pennsylvania state line was looked forward to with no little anxiety by the Commonwealth and the outside world, for there were rumors of limitless legions of militia and minions of the law gathered at the gateway to the Keystone state. Word had been passed along the line that New Galilee was to be the Commonwealth's Waterloo; that nothing but Winchesters and a frigid temperature were to be encountered. Not an inkling had been received of any preparations for the weary marchers, and the "dogs and fleas man" volunteered to make the entry and provide some abiding place and as much more as could be squeezed out of a hard-hearted community.

He entered the town to find that, despite all manner of rumors to the contrary, New Galilee and its inhabitants were sleeping peacefully upon the banks of the Jordan, scarcely cognizant of any hostile approach, and apparently caring little.

The only officer of the law in this hamlet is Constable Thomas McCowan, who was discovered strolling along the principal street in the dress of a Colorado mining camp marshal. He proved to be a genial, whole-souled fellow, and at once interested himself in

NOW LET US TRY THE INITIATIVE AS SUGGESTED BY THE 'COMING N
ARE AGREED GOOD ROADS ARE WANTED—THIS PLAN WILL GIVE THEI

THE PITIABLE RESULT OF A SINGLE (GOLD) STANDARD FOR MONEY—
A SPECIAL PRIVILEGE OF THE FEW, IN THE U.S. TO DAY!

CAUSES THE MANY
TO SUFFER!

PETITION
TO THE HOUSE OF RE
& THE PRESIDENT

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occasional disgrace on acco
of at least one fourth
great loss and inconvenience
and Socially and, &
WHEREAS—There is at 11
in business and many die
account of not being able to
ing that human nature is sue
labor instead of receiving
portunity, and believing
classes are paying all
the undersigned, do the
you the necessity of in
THAT YOU ENACT A LAW
LIONS OF TREASURY NO
TENDER of all d.c.u.s. b
money to be set apart
roads, and to go to e
with the number of 1
and to be appropri
rate of TWENTY MIL

NAMES. P.O. AD

J.S. COX	Massillon
Edith Brown	Calistoga
Henry Vincent	Chicago
J.H. HUNT	Massillon
W.R. WOODFORD	Cleveland
H.C. WILSON	Tennison
Wm. YOST	Massillon

&c &c

COX
GOOD
PL

EVERY THINKING
WOMAN ENDOR

designed and painted by COX B
plan suggested by the owner of 1

THE BROWNE GOOD



LOOK ON THIS PICTURE &
HOW THE ROADS ARE NOW,
EVERY SPRING!

LET US TELL CONGRESS ONE SPECIFIC LAW DESIRED, ALL AND SOLVE THE "MONEY" AND THE "IDLE LABOR" QUESTIONS ALSO.

ION:
PRESENT TIMES, THE SENSE
OF THE UNITED STATES.

is of the United States, generally
all of their almost impossible can
the year thereby causing
the people, both commercially

present time, great depression
are thrown upon charity in
spite of their labor, and believe
that they would prefer to
labor if they but had the op-
portunity. That the agricultural
taxes they can stand, we
fore request and urge upon
mediate action as follows:
to issue FIVE HUNDRED MIL-
LIONS TO BE A FULL LEGAL
TENDER IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, SUCH
EXCLUSIVELY FOR PUBLIC
STATE PRO RATA
FILES OF TODAY IN THE STATE,
AND ISSUED AT THE
RATES PER MONTH.

SIGNED

DRESS - OCCUPATION.

Ohio, Coxeys Stock Farm & Wild
State Bank, State Quarters,
Detroit, Artist - Journalist.
Chicago, Chicago Express.
Ohio, Cashier Union Nat. Bank.
Ohio, Gen. Man. C. L. S. W. R. R.
Ohio, Farmer & Smelter,
Ohio, Hamlin Deoley.

COXEY'S
ROADS
PANORAMA.

THE
FARMERS
ARE
FOR
IT.

THE
LABORERS
ARE
FOR
IT.

THE
MERCHANTS
ARE
FOR
IT.

THE
SCHOOL
TEACHERS
ARE
FOR
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THE
WOMEN
ARE
FOR
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THE
YOUTH
ARE
FOR
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THE
OLD
PEOPLE
ARE
FOR
IT.

THE
CITY
PEOPLE
ARE
FOR
IT.

THE
COUNTRY
PEOPLE
ARE
FOR
IT.

THE
WORLD
IS
FOR
IT.

THE ROSEY RESULT THAT WOULD FOLLOW WITH A MONEY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.



Winn of California From the
COXEY STOCK FARM, MASSILLON, OHIO.

ROADS PANORAMA.

assisting the Commonweal's plenipotentiary to secure quarters for its reception. After considerable difficulty Derwent's stove foundry was secured and fires built to make it comfortable. The town contained no hall for a meeting; the village boys had damaged the schoolhouse, and the six trustees of the church were scattered over the country; hence the outlook for a meeting was gloomy.

Hastily doing all that could be done, Mr. McCallum started on horseback to meet the Commonweal on the other side of Jordan. By this time the streets were liberally sprinkled with residents and employes of coal mines and stone quarries from the surrounding hillsides. Two miles out the men were encountered and a halt called. After a brief consultation Carl Browne rode ahead into the town and Mr. McCallum, in Mr. Coxey's, guided the marchers to their quarters. On entering the town a sudden change came over the assembled populace, and there appeared as miraculously as the loaves and fishes of the Bible, sundry piles of excellent firewood, numerous bundles of straw and hay, tenders of stalls for horses and the problem was solved. The Babylonian walls of rumor had again fallen before the earnest charge of truth and all was serene. Camp was made, the tired wanderers reclined in picturesque attitudes, supper was served and everything made snug for the night.

At 7 o'clock Carl Browne was still sleeping in his tent, utterly worn out by the fatigues of the day, but the man's iron constitution was still equal to the task of addressing an audience, and at 8 o'clock, under a starry canopy and amid fierce wintry blasts, he held forth to an appreciative and interested crowd. At a late hour the assemblage still lingered and reluctantly left only when the voice of the speaker gave out. The rippling waters of the brook nearby were not necessary to court slumber and despite the chilly atmosphere around them all slept but the watchful sentinels of the camp.

At 8 in the morning bugle was sounded, breakfast prepared, wagons packed and the march to Beaver Falls entered upon. Here there were many things to be done. It was Sunday. No meetings were to be permitted by the officials of this somewhat puritanical community. Extra police had been sworn in, and the bug-a-boos appeared in more terrible shape than before. Nothing daunted, the caravan slowly but surely wended its way over hills which afforded to the lover of nature some beautiful river

views, which seemed to lose little from the absence of their cloak of foliage. Every settlement through which they passed contributed its quota of applause and it soon became apparent that vast multitudes would be on hand to welcome its arrival into Beaver Falls.

Sunday morning, which was the first Sabbath since the march had begun, it was decided to hold services. A place of meeting was hastily prepared in a lumber yard, and rough seats and a still ruder pulpit being all that could be obtained for the comfort of those who attended. Carl Browne read a few passages from the New Testament, and then proceeded to deliver a short sermon on Jesus and His works as viewed from the purely humanitarian standpoint. His discourse was to show that Christ was a humanitarian, and that His whole life was spent in doing good to His fellows. At the close of the services camp was broken, and at 2 P. M. the Commonwealth was entering Beaver Falls, a beautiful and thriving little city most charmingly situated between the noble hills crowning the picturesque and fertile Big Beaver valley.

A splendid reception awaited the Commonwealth at this place. The local committee headed a procession of citizens carrying banners, on which were inscribed words of welcome, while a local bicycle club met the marchers some distance out of town and acted as a special escort into the city. In passing, it might be noted here that the bicycle men over the country take considerable interest in Mr. Coxey's good roads scheme, and as many places along the line of march have come out in bodies to meet the champion of improved highways, in order to wish him success in his undertaking. Escorted by the bicycle club, itself preceded by an excellent band, and by the procession of citizens a parade was made of the principal streets, after which camp was pitched in a charming spot on the river bank near the car barns and at the foot of a rather abrupt piece of rising ground. It was Sunday afternoon and the entire population of the city, together with many people from the surrounding country, had gathered on the hillside overlooking the camp. The air was just pleasantly suggestive of budding spring, the ground was bright with a newly laid carpet of green and on this sat or reclined the assembled thousands, forming an immense picture, which appealed strongly to artistic instincts, being both beautiful and picturesque in every detail. Standing in the camp below and looking up into

this natural amphitheater were the speakers who addressed the people. Mr. Coxey spoke first and was followed by Marshal Browne. It had been rumored that the Covenanters, whose college walls rose hard by the spot where the camp was pitched, would not permit the holding of a meeting on the Sabbath day. On the contrary, one of the college faculty sent word to Mr. Browne that he would send a minister to assist at the services, if it were desired.

This offer was declined with thanks and the messenger was informed by Marshal Browne, the Commonwealth of Christ did not believe in prayer. "Tell your professor," said he, "that our motto is, God helps those who help themselves, and that we are going to Washington to get what we want."

At night a meeting was held in the Sixth street opera house, the lower floor of which had been used as a skating-rink and contained no seats of any description. Here the people stood for nearly three hours packed, as one man expressed it, "as thick as willows in a swamp," while the galleries were also crowded to their utmost capacity. The supply of provisions at Beaver Falls was most bountiful, far exceeding in quantity that furnished at any point thus far along the route.

The next morning camp was broken at 10 o'clock and by noon Economy was reached, where a halt was made for lunch. The good, but simple-minded people of this village gave the Commonwealth a reception that was hearty in character and full of the spirit of brotherly love and sympathy. Of the Commonwealth's treatment here, Mr. McCallum, who was with the movement at that time, tells us that the "army was led through a section of town and made to rest on a green bank between two long lines of budding apple trees, flanked on both sides by hundreds of acres of fertile fields green with wheat. Here the night before Jaxon, our worthy Indian guide, had cooked his frugal meal of oatmeal over a burning gas well. When duly in order, the attack was made. The good citizens had supplied ammunition in shape of twenty bushel baskets filled with bread of a kind which Economites only know how to make, two soap boxes filled with boiled eggs, and a hundred pounds of the best cooked ham—hams raised on the grounds; for when we saw the clean hogs in a ten-acre lot all to themselves, we could relish the meat they furnished. It did one's heart good to see the huge slices of bread, meat and cheese

disappear, and when a buxom German woman drove a wagon full of overflowing milk cans and fifty cups to serve it with, the picture and feast were complete. The lines as they formed for rations furnished many a good shot for the numerous cameras, while John Duss looked on at the good work he and his people had done. Before leaving this hospitable camp, three hearty cheers were given for the good people of Economy, and once more the line formed for the cold outside world.

The good people of Economy had detained the Commonweal with their hospitable entertainment so long that it was nearing dark when it entered Sewickly, an aristocratic suburb of Pittsburg. Here the Commonweal was billed for a chilly reception. By previous engagement, a vacant lot was secured and almost in the heart of the town camp was pitched, but difficulty was encountered in securing provisions necessary for the night's comfort. The number in line had greatly increased during the day, and the men were weary from their long march. It was interesting to observe the effect of this invasion upon the residents, and many stories were heard of the precautions taken in advance by those who had been reading the exciting stories given through the press, regarding the army and its make-up; in fact, a large number of the elegant homes were guarded inside and out by half a dozen or more special men for that purpose, so fearful were the owners that the Commonweal supporters would attempt in some way to do them violence.

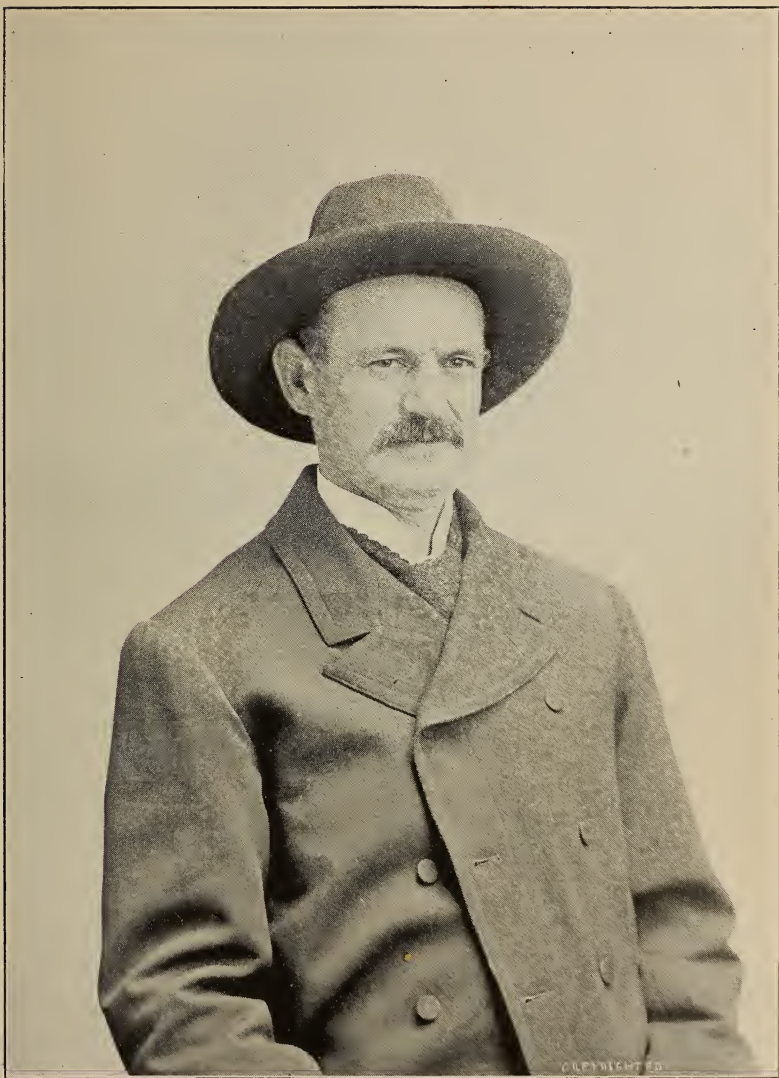
An incident occurred, while camp was being pitched, that went to the ends of the country in the dispatches that night, which served, as much as anything that had occurred up to that time, to impress the country at large that the leaders knew what they were doing. Among the spectators were two distinguished gentlemen, one a Standard Oil magnate, the other, Judge Stowe, the highest judicial officer in that district. As were the rules of the camp, after lines had been formed, all who were not connected with the Commonweal were requested to remain outside these limits. The gentlemen mentioned, however, ventured within, seemingly ignorant of the regulations, and an aid was dispatched to apprise them of the fact that they were intruders. Not desiring to offend the gentlemen, the marshal quietly asked them to step to one side, beyond the lines; instead of doing so, they continued the other way. Their progress was at once reported to the chief marshal,

who hastened to them and renewed the request. Just then an acquaintance tapped the arm of the chief marshal and inquired, if he knew he was addressing the highest judicial officer of Western Pennsylvania? The marshal immediately replied, "I do not care a — who they are. They have been asked to get outside the lines, and if they don't go we will throw them out. This is our home and we shall exclude intruders."

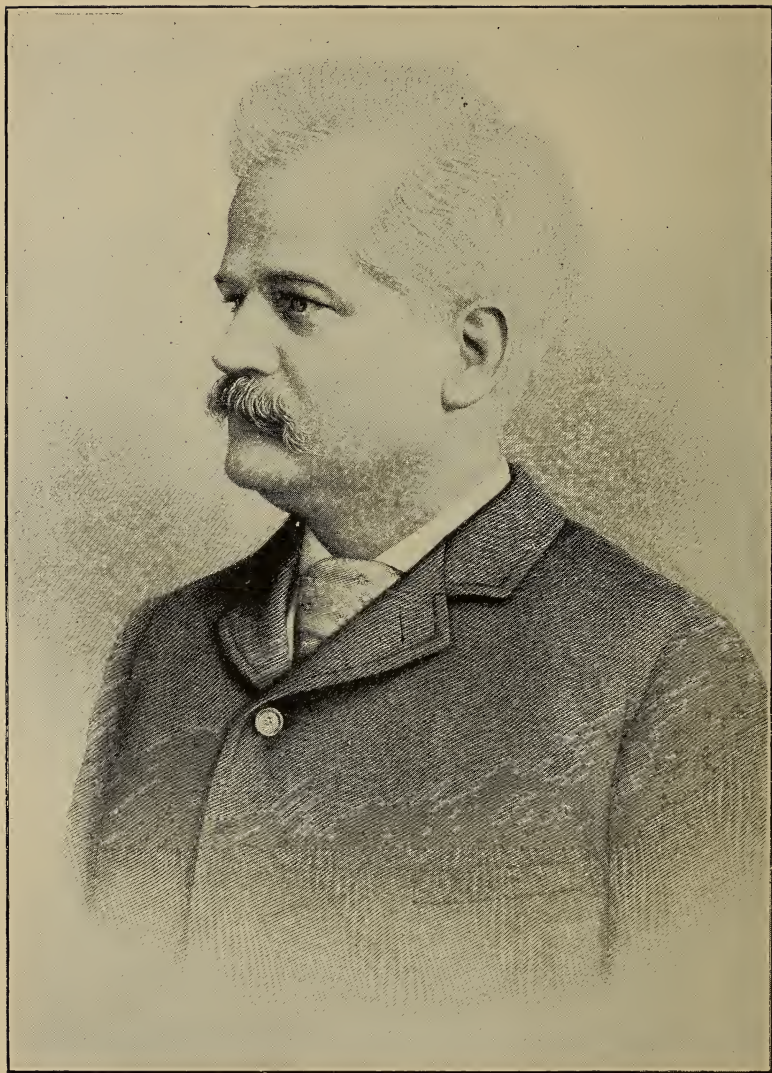
The affair created no little stir throughout the village, as it was reported in the papers the next morning and seemed to chafe the judge a great deal. In an interview, Mr. Browne explained satisfactorily the action of his marshal. Some one spoke of causing the leaders to be arrested for thus assailing the dignitaries of the community, but when the judge was consulted on the matter he confessed himself in the wrong.

Another incident is worthy of mention in connection with this camp. While President Coxey was sitting in his phaeton, watching things being put in order, he was visited by a representative from a Pittsburg theater, extending to him an earnest invitation to attend his play house on the following evening with his entire staff. Mr. Coxey thanked him with this remark: "I could have made a thousand dollars while in Pittsburg last week arranging for my army when it should arrive, and it would have cost me no outlay of time or effort to have done so, but my friend, I am not in this for speculation or advertisement. I want these bills passed, and that is all I am after." The next day, before entering Allegheny City, the manager of a theater tendered him four hundred complimentary tickets, which would include not alone his staff, but the entire rank and file, newspaper men and all. "Well, I guess I will have to accept this," said Mr. Coxey. "The boys have been on the march now for a week, and a little change will do them good." We will take it in."

During the night at Sewickly a change came over the good people, which caused them to open their storehouses the next morning and bring out substantial, well-cooked victuals in abundance, which gave the men a cheery breakfast and sent them on their way with loud praise for the kindnesses, even though they came at a late hour.



GENERAL LOUIS C. FRY.



GEO. P. BEMIS, MAYOR OF OMAHA.

CHAPTER VIII.

ALLEGHENY CITY AND PITTSBURG.

Scarcely had the Commonweal approached the environs of Allegheny City before all Pittsburg and the surrounding region was on tiptoe of curiosity to see the invading host, and the crucial test for the Coxey movement was acknowledged to be at hand. Could the Commonweal pass Pittsburg and encounter no trouble with the police, or, at least, escape without disbandment, the march to Washington would be declared a certainty. Mr. Coxey had visited Pittsburg a few days in advance, met the heads of police and city departments, and arranged with them fully for the line of march (to be left in the hands of a local committee already organized) and for a reception and entertainment when they should arrive. The local committee, working in conjunction with the committees of escort appointed by different organizations throughout the city, had laid out the line of march to be followed, the same as advertised in all the papers the day previous, and the city made thoroughly acquainted with the same. The bands and committees were to meet the Commonweal at Wood's Run and then escort them over the route where the largest number of people could view the procession as it passed. It happened, however, that a different program had been arranged on the part of the police. Two miles out, at what is known as Jones' Run, where the stop for noon lunch was made, Chief Murphy with an escort of detectives met the Commonweal, and at once assumed charge. Here, also, an aid from the local committee passed to the chief marshal an envelope containing the orders and line of march as advertised by the committee. Chief Murphy at once demanded this paper, and upon reading it returned it with the remark that he and his men would escort the column into Allegheny City by a route much shorter than that proposed.

"But," remonstrated Mr. Browne, "the people have made all preparations for us to go this other route, and the organizations

April 18-1894
THE COMMONWEAL OF CHRIST.

THIS CERTIFIES, That.....
of Group..... Commune.....

Chicago Community of the Commonwealth of Christ, is
entitled to this Souvenir for heroic conduct in crossing the
Cumberland Mountains in face of snow and ice, and despite
police persecution and dissension breeders.

.....
President J. S. Coxey Good Roads Association of the U. S.
.....
.....
Marshal of the Commonwealth of Christ.

are in line awaiting our coming. Since the matter is placed in other hands, do you assume we cannot follow their line?"

"I do," said Mr. Murphy; "these men that I have with me will escort, your column and you will go by the Brighton road."

Mr. Browne quietly acceded to the terms laid down by the police, saying that it was not his purpose to violate any orders; being in the bounds of the city he would submit, and let the consequences take care of themselves.

At once an aid was dispatched to notify the people down the other route of the change that had been made. Excitement began to grow intense, and all quickly understood the source of the change. The route followed; instead of carrying the column through the thickly settled portion of the city, where the laboring people, who were known to be in sympathy with the movement, could welcome the army as they had prepared to do, it led over a hilly region, through a half-section of well-filled graveyards, with here and there an aristocratic residence, going at once into the city through a narrow ravine—a passageway that barely admitted the column. The hosts of spectators, who by this time had gathered by the thousands, warmly received the passing Commonwealth and its marching friends.

In spite of the orders laid down by Chief Murphy, that no labor organization should escort the column, one after another they fell in, in advance, with their bands and banners until it was impossible to estimate the size of the column. For several miles it was one continual ovation, cheer after cheer greeting the leaders as they passed, keeping them busy bowing and waving to the vast throngs on either side. The kodak "fiend" was out in full force, and shots were taken from every possible point.

Camp had been provided in the rear of the baseball park, from which the public was excluded; strict orders were given that none but the officers, their staff and newspaper correspondents should be allowed to pass the gates, so that visitors could only see the army when accompanied with an officer. Men sick and in need of medical treatment, or provisions and clothing, could not gain the freedom of the city to provide for their wants, and were required to stay in camp, penned up like cattle. Or if they ventured to assert their rights as American citizens, they were taken to the police station. The invitation extended to Mr. Coxey and his men to attend the theater was denied, and when the hour

arrived they were met at the gate by fifty policemen with clubs drawn and patrol wagons in waiting, ready for a general encounter if they passed the gates.

Dispatches were sent out that night to the effect that three hundred and one of the Commonwealers had been arrested and were enjoying the hospitality of the city jail by invitation of the police, and the rest of the company began to understand what they might expect, should they disobey police orders. On the following day more men were arrested, without any provocation as the Commonwealers claim, and patrol wagons were driven into the grounds and men were arrested and taken away, as Carl Browne declared, without knowing what for, and without daring to ask a question. The chief canvasman, sent out by the officers of the camp to buy thread, with which to repair the tents, had no sooner passed the gate than he was dumped into the wagon and hurried off to the station.

By this time the Commonweal marshals decided something must be done to check the arrests. The mayor was not to be found, and when one of the marshals applied for admission to the chief magistrate's presence, he was not permitted to enter the door, but told insolently to get on his horse and pass on, or he would be placed behind the bars with the others.

Mr. Sparks, a correspondent who had accompanied the Commonweal from the start, doing special duties for the *Chicago Tribune* (and who from his long experience on the frontier as a "cow puncher," has proved a valuable helper on numerous occasions, so much so that Mr. Coxey had supplied him with a fine horse to ride), hearing of what was going on, took upon himself to visit the jail and remonstrate with the officers for arresting Mr. Coxey's men in this wholesale manner. The result was that those arrested were passed in review before him, and such as he identified as members of Coxey's camp were liberated and permitted to return, with three exceptions, these having been taken by request of the Commonweal marshals for violating the orders of camp, by going among the people begging money.

Much favorable comment was heard at Pittsburg and elsewhere upon the excellent discipline that was maintained, and a few words concerning it may not be amiss. All who had enlisted at Massillon were organized into groups of five, each one of which was appointed a marshal; the groups were federated into companies

of not less than thirty nor more than one hundred and five. This company was commanded by a marshal. Going into camp a circle was formed, in true Western style; the chief would advance to the center, followed by the colorbearer, who planted his flag; orders were then given for staff bearers to advance and plant their banners near by, after which marshals of the companies went forward to receive instructions. Then assignments were made: "Number so-and-so, unload the tents;" to others, "Distribute the stakes;" while others still with sledgehammers were performing their duties. The commissary marshal issued his orders with the same precision. Thus everything was in order.

Returning to Pittsburg, all eyes were on Coxey's army to see whether it would escape that city in as good shape as it entered. In spite of the treatment at Allegheny City by the police, the effect had been to stimulate recruits. Not the least interesting feature in connection with this movement was the daily mail received by Messrs. Coxey and Browne at Pittsburg, as well as for weeks antedating the start, and at every stop along the line of march. It was a novel spectacle to step into the hotel at the various points, and see Mr. Browne surrounded by a score or more correspondents, listening to the contents of the vast mail which he was opening and reading. There were also large numbers of dispatches received containing bogus checks for large amounts, and it soon dawned upon Mr. Coxey that there was a well organized effort to bring his cause into ridicule. Well-to-do men of Chicago would read in the morning papers that they had made a liberal donation to the Commonwealth, or, at least, that checks for large amounts with their names attached had been received, accompanied by a very friendly letter of endorsement. These afforded Mr. Coxey quite as much amusement as the public. It satisfied him that the desired attention was being given his movement, and that the people were talking about it.

The Commonwealth had its own way in Pittsburg, and every request or desire made known on the part of the leaders was immediately granted. Words cannot picture the intensity of the interest manifested by the throngs who flocked the streets. Arrangements had been made for public meetings at the old City Hall on Wednesday night. It was evident from the outset that but a small percentage of the people who gathered could gain admittance, and at once provision was made for overflow meet-

ings on the wharf, where two or three speakers alternated, and thus kept the crowds interested. In the afternoon, as well, Browne and Coxey spoke until their strength nearly gave out, endeavoring to reach the acres of people who had gathered on the Monongahela wharf. The crowds fairly surged, like the waves of the ocean, back and forth, this way and that, as indicated by the direction taken by either one of the speakers in going from place to place.

Mr. Coxey was driven from his hotel down to the wharf in the phaeton in which he usually appears, but, owing to the steep incline and the rough cobblestones over which he passed, one of his wheels was crushed in the midst of the crowd, and, as indication of the intensity of popular interest, the spokes that were broken from the wheel were borne away as trophies, as much as five dollars being offered for single ones and refused by the fortunate holders.

In the absence of speakers' stands, piles of boxes were turned to account, and, while they furnished uncertain bases, they were utilized for the occasion, to the evident satisfaction of the crowd. Browne, particularly, presented a picturesque appearance, perched on the top of a square box that rocked with the wind, being nearly thrown over a number of times; but it only afforded him an opportunity to exhibit his excellent familiarity with impoverished conveniences. It would be useless to place an estimate on the great numbers that thronged the wharf during the afternoon and evening. All the reports of the local papers agreed that no such scene had ever been known in the history of the city. Pittsburg has had its riots and mobs, but even they did not reach the volume of people attracted by this Commonwealth peace movement. In every window, it would seem, and on the wharf and along the different lines of march through the city, the ever-alert photographer was stationed to catch snap shots of everybody.

Around the old City Hall clusters a chain of incidents, memorable among which are the historical events prior to and during the war. In this hall the Republican party was given birth and christened; here the ladies of the city fed all the different contingents of the Union army as they passed to and fro during war times. On this occasion, through the kindly aid of the police, a magnificent audience was assembled, and the police rendered excellent service in keeping out loungers and vicious boys, giving the seats to ladies and gentlemen who came to hear and learn the

object of the movement. After the seats were filled the doors were closed, the aisles kept clear, and the speaking proceeded.

Immediately following Mr. Coxey's brief address, the incident of the evening took place, which was the presentation by the local committee of a fine white silk banner, that had headed the procession on its entrance into Allegheny City the day previous; and in the presentation speech Mr. Coxey was charged to plant the same on the steps of the Capitol at Washington. The general responded very appropriately, pledging himself to faithfully perform the charge there imposed, and thereafter the banner has held a conspicuous place in the column from point to point.

Here, at Pittsburg, began a series of events that alone placed the stamp of success upon the enterprise. In addition to the generous offer by the Palace theater of seats for Mr. Coxey and his entire company, there was a donation from Kaufman's great store of 300 pairs of shoes for the men and a like number of vests; another merchant gave 500 pairs of socks, another sent fifty pairs, while bread, meat and other provisions were given in great abundance. The Commonwealth left Pittsburg in much lighter spirits than they entered it, twenty-four hours before.

CHAPTER IX.

HOMESTEAD AND MCKEESPORT.

At Allegheny City the published route was temporarily abandoned in order to make a detour and take in the cities of Homestead and McKeesport. This, in a sense, was made imperative from the fact that while the Commonweal was in Allegheny City, a committee from Homestead waited upon President Coxey and staff and extended an urgent invitation to visit that city. Accordingly, a final view of the thrilling scenes during the visit at Pittsburg was given, when, with banners flying, bands playing, and to the roar of cheers from thousands of human throats, the Commonweal marched out of the city and took a winding road leading up and along the river's bank to Homestead. The entire journey from start to finish was an ovation. Opposite Glenwood and also half way between the two places, the force was met by a body of one hundred and fifty delegates, with a band and large company of men bearing flags and banners, which acted as an escort into the city. At the same time a lot of workmen near by had provided themselves with a small cannon and anvils, and were firing salutes in honor of the army's approach. As the body neared Homestead, and half a mile, probably, outside of the city limits, it came to a perfect network of railroad tracks leading out from the switch yards. The engineers stopped their engines, leaving the crossing clear for the body to cross over, at the same time saluting it with shrill whistles from their engines, while the steamboats in the river joined in the chorus; and to this strange music the Commonwealers entered the industrial city. By this time a drizzling rain had begun to fall, but it acted as no sort of a dampener on the feelings and spirits of the citizens of Homestead. They thronged the streets and blockaded the sidewalks, greeting the men with cheers as they tramped along its muddy thoroughfares. In a little while an abandoned ice-house standing on the banks of the river was secured for quarters for the men for

the night. Provisions, and wood for making fires, were donated in abundance, and they soon were made as comfortable as possible under the circumstances.

It was about this time that the officers of the Commonwealth movement had adopted the system of dividing the men into groups of five, and requiring one man from each group to do duty for two hours, when he was relieved by the next in number from his commune. An incident occurred here which illustrates the perfect discipline which the army was rapidly being brought under, and also shows the spirit with which the men performed the duties assigned them. When the army left Allegheny City, it had been joined by quite a number of raw recruits, who, of course, had had no opportunity to become acquainted with the camp rules and regulations. In the evening after the men retired to their quarters, the marshal, in calling out the numbers of each commune to do picket duty, found that certain members from one of the Pittsburg communes did not respond. Making his way carefully across the immense floor where men were sleeping as thickly as they could lie, he brought the refractory volunteers to the front, and proceeded to instruct them in their duties. They evinced a spirit of rebellion. He at once told them that they would get no breakfast in the morning, and that if they persisted in their disobedience to the orders of the officers they would be expelled from the army. This order, peremptory as it was, was greeted with hearty cheers by all who heard it, and the new recruits, becoming speedily convinced that the officer had the hearty support and co-operation of his men, at once became submissive and promised in the future to take their share of the work along with their comrades.

A great deal has been said in the press dispatches of the fact that President Coxey and Marshal Browne and others of the staff were in the habit of sleeping at the best hotels, while the rank and file of the army were compelled to take such quarters as they could find. This is true, but not with the coloring thrown upon it by the newspaper reports. During the entire march, from the time the army left Massillon and up to the present, there has not been a night that General Coxey, or his marshal when he was not present with the army, did not carefully see to the wants of the men before they sought rest for themselves. It was always the custom of General Coxey, after the evening meetings, held in

some hall or opera house, to visit the camp to see that the men were well provided for, and that they were made as comfortable as possible under the circumstances. From the time the army left Pittsburg, on approaching a town, it would be met several miles out by rival hotel-keepers, riding or driving the swiftest horses in a race with each other to tender to General Coxey and his staff the courtesies of their houses. In several towns where the Commonwealth was encamped, in order to prevent a bitter feeling between citizens, matters were amicably arranged, by General Coxey himself accepting the hospitalities of one hotel and sending the remainder of his staff to another. In all cases he and his officers were honored and welcome guests at the places where they stopped.

Shortly after the arrival of the Commonwealth at Homestead, a delegation of workmen came over from Braddock, a manufacturing town across the river, with a message conveying the friendliest sentiments from the workmen of their village, and with a cash contribution of ten dollars, with which to purchase supplies. In the evening a meeting was held in the hall made famous in history as the place where the Pinkerton men were taken during the terrible strikes that prevailed in Homestead some years ago. This place, large as it was, could not accommodate the thousands that thronged about its doors, and many turned away unable to gain admission. During the speaking, a few disorderly spirits in the rear of the room attempted to create a disturbance. It was promptly squelched by a brawny mill man, who arose in his place and asked President Coxey, who was speaking, to cease for a moment until the disturbers could be removed. This speedily produced order, and Mr. Coxey went ahead with his remarks, and was not interrupted again during the evening.

It was at this point that Marshal Browne issued his order, in which he said: "Comrades, we have crossed the Rubicon. We have pressed through the cities of Allegheny and Pittsburg, where it was prophesied by certain newspapers and bankers that we would go to pieces, etc."

After a damp, chilly night, passed in the ice-house at Homestead, the Commonwealth was up early and sought the warm, cheery sunshine of a beautiful spring morning. A smoking hot and substantial breakfast was served, which had the effect of greatly reviving the spirits of the new men who had joined the movement.

Headquarters of
the Commemorial
of Christ.

Camp Yorktown, ~~near~~ in
Hagerstown, Md.

9 P.M. April 21 1874.

Comrades.- The cheering scene to night
presented ~~over~~ meeting and at the
primary ^{local} imminence of the populace
of this place, of which, every citizen
is a part of a continuously existing
picture, which, if an canvas, would
charm the eye to most critical com-
mon sense ~~in~~ of its picturesque, ~~as~~ I
have concluded to remain over until sun-
day morning at least, in as much as the
~~the~~ ~~general~~ ~~front~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~main~~ ~~land~~
Railroad ~~was~~ freight ware house - Mr.
H. C. Kohler, her kindly tendency to use
the use of ~~the~~ the said warehouse
for sleeping quarters during our
stay, ~~the~~ Bugle call will not be
blown until 8 a.m. Breakfast at 9 a.m.
~~breakfast at 9 a.m. & supper at~~
I deem it distinctly understood that Jennie
Coxey in my absence from camp has full
command and all matters and affairs
connected with the Commemorial should along
lines ~~as~~ myself for its ~~reason~~ ~~that~~ ~~we~~ ~~must~~
have no confusions. ~~in~~ In the absence
of both ~~myself~~ and chief of staff Jimmie
Coxey, ~~and~~ Consensus Messiah,
Providence has full charge, I deem it
extremely necessary to make ~~the~~ ~~is~~
clear to you all. ~~as to~~ ~~and~~ ~~such~~
~~see~~ The name of the Camp Saturday
will be as stated in General
order ~~as~~ ~~previously~~ ~~announced~~.
~~and~~ for the pleasure given - Camp
medhurst

Carl Brown

The donations of provisions and supplies of all kinds at this point were quite liberal. Robert McWhinney, burgess of the borough, gave a large box of merchandise, consisting of whisk brooms, blacking brushes, pens, ink, paper, etc. In fact, the contributions from Homestead citizens were so large that Mr. Coxey made an effort to purchase an extra team and wagon in order to take them along. An early start was made for McKeesport, and as the body moved out along the road, and passed by the immense works at Homestead, the high walls surrounding those prison-like structures were black with workmen, who cheered the men as they passed by. The roads from Homestead to McKeesport proved the worst that had yet been encountered, and, owing to this fact, it was nearly 2 o'clock in the afternoon before the force reached Duquesne. Here a stop was made for lunch, and the Commonwealth was met by a committee from McKeesport, which had come out to act as an escort into the city.

Accompanying the committee were the Duquesne Tube Works band and twelve boys bearing with them a huge American flag, which was presented to General Coxey by the citizens of McKeesport. As already stated, the march from Homestead to this point had been over the worst of roads, and the men were completely tired out. A lunch of sandwiches and hot coffee was provided, and before starting again on the road Marshal Browne issued his order, in which was announced the system of designating each commune in the army by the letters of the alphabet, in the same manner as are companies in a regiment of soldiers. In explanation of this plan, he said it was intended to prove the practical idea of coöperative government.

As early as 2 o'clock, and while the body was still at Duquesne, the citizens of McKeesport had assembled by thousands to watch for its approach. They were still watching and waiting when at 5 o'clock the head of the column appeared in view. The approach to the bridge across the river was densely crowded with people. The Wilmerding brass band was at the head of the procession of citizens that escorted the Commonwealth into the town. The following description of the appearance of the men, at this time, appeared in the McKeesport paper the following morning: "What a motley crowd it was; big and little, stout and thin; well fed and starved; all sorts of people were in the procession. Some had sticks, some had none; some had their hands full of personal possessions; one

fellow carried a chair without a back and the name 'Coxey' carved on the seat; under his other arm he carried a mangy little cur, which seemed to be a cross breed between a sky terrier and a window mop. Most of the army wore green leaves in their hats, and the rest of them had white card numbers stuck in their hat bands; all wore Commonweal badges pinned or sewed on their dress."

The reception at McKeesport was no less cordial and hearty in character than that accorded at Homestead. The reputation of the Commonweal as an entirely peaceful and law-abiding band had preceded it to McKeesport, and the authorities of that city had taken no precautions for the purpose of safety by increasing the regular number of the police force. The campground was at Reynoldton, a little town just across the river. While in Allegheny City, President Coxey had contracted for a new tent, to be delivered to the body at this point. Under the terms of the agreement the structure was to be forty by fifty-five feet in dimension, but when delivered it was found to be so much smaller, and so plainly an imposition on the part of the man from whom it had been purchased, that Mr. Coxey refused to receive it, and had the gentleman arrested for obtaining money under false pretenses. It had been expected that the tent would furnish ample accommodations for the men, and on this supposition Mr. Coxey had notified the city authorities that no sleeping quarters need be provided. It therefore cost no little inconvenience and trouble when he found that he had been deceived, and his men were without any suitable place in which to pass the night. After a time, however, quarters were found in the Coliseum building, and fairly comfortable accommodations were fitted up for them. In the evening a meeting was held at the Opera House, which was the largest gathering thus far on the journey. Hundreds thronged about the doors and were turned away, unable to obtain admittance. The contributions at this point were liberal, and quite a number of recruits joined the army.

On the following morning, April 7, the Commonweal broke camp and took to march from Reynoldton to Monongahela City. The road led along the big, muddy river which bears the name of the town, and on its banks coal shafts, oil derricks and the flaming chimneys of mills were passed, as the column toiled wearily over the roads that were nearly impassable. Groups of grimy miners

were at their gates and at the cross-roads, gazing silently at the moving body. The steamboats on the river tooted a merry welcome, which was quickly caught up and participated in by the railroad engineers. At Elizabeth, the column tramped over the bridge with banners flying and keeping step to a lively tune played by the band of the Chicago commune. An excellent lunch, consisting of coffee and sandwiches, was served by the people across the river. At Pangborn Hollow, the Commonweal was overtaken by a fearful storm; rain came down from a black and angry sky in merciless torrents; and, roaring through the gullies, came deafening peals of thunder. It is doubtful whether in the history of this country, in time of war or peace, can be produced a parallel of that awful march from the sink-holes in the foothills of the Alleghanies to Camp Brandywine. For over an hour two hundred miserably-clad men, whose nourishment for days had been mainly cold victuals, and exposed to all sorts of hardships, faced this terrible storm. So fierce was it that even the horses of the officers refused to face it. The men, themselves, fled from the fury of the elements and took shelter in the caves and abandoned mines and quarries. The spectacle was indeed pitiful, and it was all painted in the terrible colors of red and black; flaming ribbons of fire flashed over the trees and lighted up the countenances of the storm-drenched men who crouched beneath them for shelter. Night closed in with the storm still raging, but promptly on the sounding of the bugle, notwithstanding the awful condition of the weather, they fell promptly into line and pressed forward up the steep mountain trail. They slipped, stumbled and fell; yet they marched onward in the awful slush and mire, until the cheering lights of Monongahela were seen in the distance. The sight of these beacons was too much for the poor fellows, who had made this weary march of seventeen miles. Chilled and drenched to the skin, as they were, they sent up a cheer, which resounded through the valley and across the river, and was heard by the good people of that city, who had been anxiously watching for the army's coming.

A few minutes later a band of musicians in storm coats and black helmets had formed on the street and were marching toward the bridge which spans the river at this place. It was just 8 o'clock when the head of the column, led by Lieutenant Browne, reached the toll-gate at the bridge. The toll-keeper had shut down the gate, and his first words were:

"You can't pass this bridge without paying toll."

"What!" cried the lieutenant, "stop a procession with the American flag at its head? Christ died eighteen hundred years ago for just such people as you, and we are willing to die for you now; will you let us pass beneath these flags?"

The old toll-keeper thought a moment and then he said: "Boys, go ahead; you may be right."

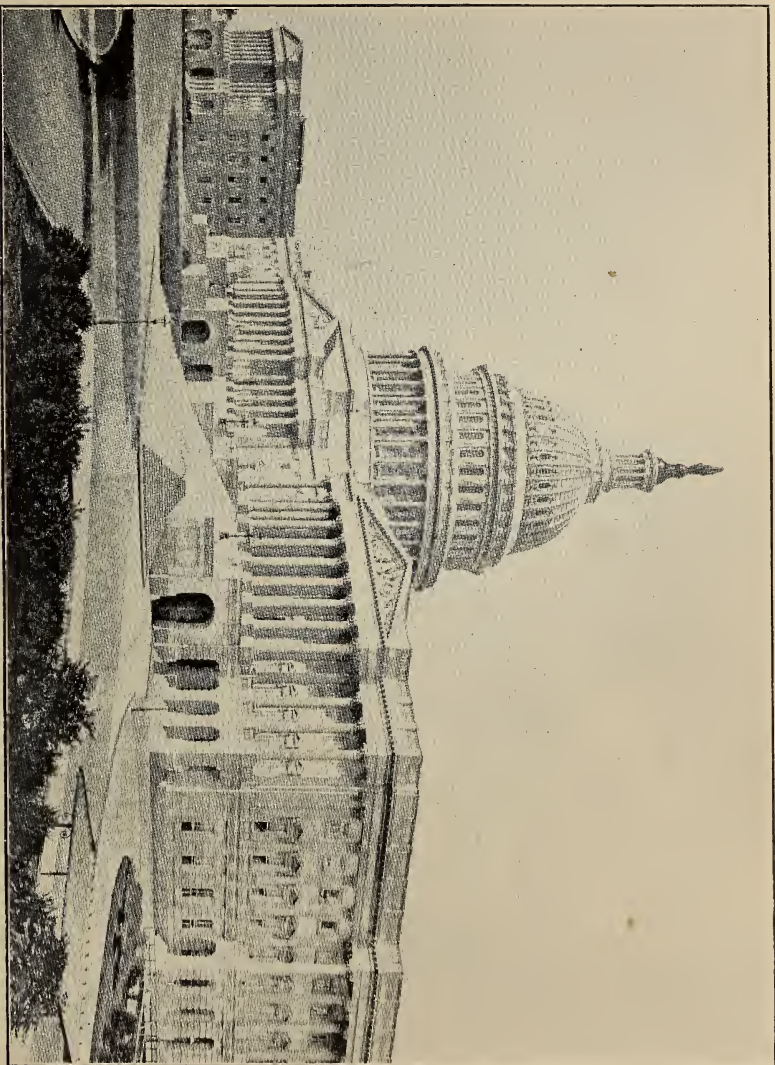
The column moved forward crossed the bridge, and was met at the other side by the band in black helmets and a procession of citizens with flaring torches. Comfortable quarters were provided for the men in a large barn, the floor of which was well covered with hay and straw; the condition of the weather made it impossible for fires, and they were compelled to sleep in their wet clothing all night.

The next day was Sunday, April 8, and the men were early astir and out in the open air preparing the morning meal and seeking to dry their rain-drenched garments. The harness room of the livery stable was turned into a kitchen, and here was prepared a substantial morning meal, consisting of broiled bacon, boiled potatoes, bread and coffee. Divine service was dispensed with, and at 11 o'clock the column was formed on the main street ready for its march to Brownsville. One mile out from Monongahela City is Pigeon creek, which was very much swollen by the rain of the night before, and gave the army a great deal of trouble in crossing. Marshal Browne ordered a rude bridge constructed, over which the men made their way, not without considerable danger of getting wet; and some of them did add to the discomforts of the previous day's experience by falling into the stream and getting a thorough soaking. There are no towns on the road between Monongahela City and Brownsville, and at mid-day the men were fed from the commissary wagon, half-way between the two cities. It was after 8 o'clock in the evening when the head of the column arrived in West Brownsville and crossed over the long, covered bridge leading into the town proper. Several thousand people had gathered to witness the approach of the Commonwealth, and there was considerable enthusiasm as the men marched to the camp site, which was located on a level piece of meadow near Bridgeport bridge and just on the banks of the river. Supper was served, and at 11 o'clock the men were assigned to their sleeping quarters at Bracebridge hall,

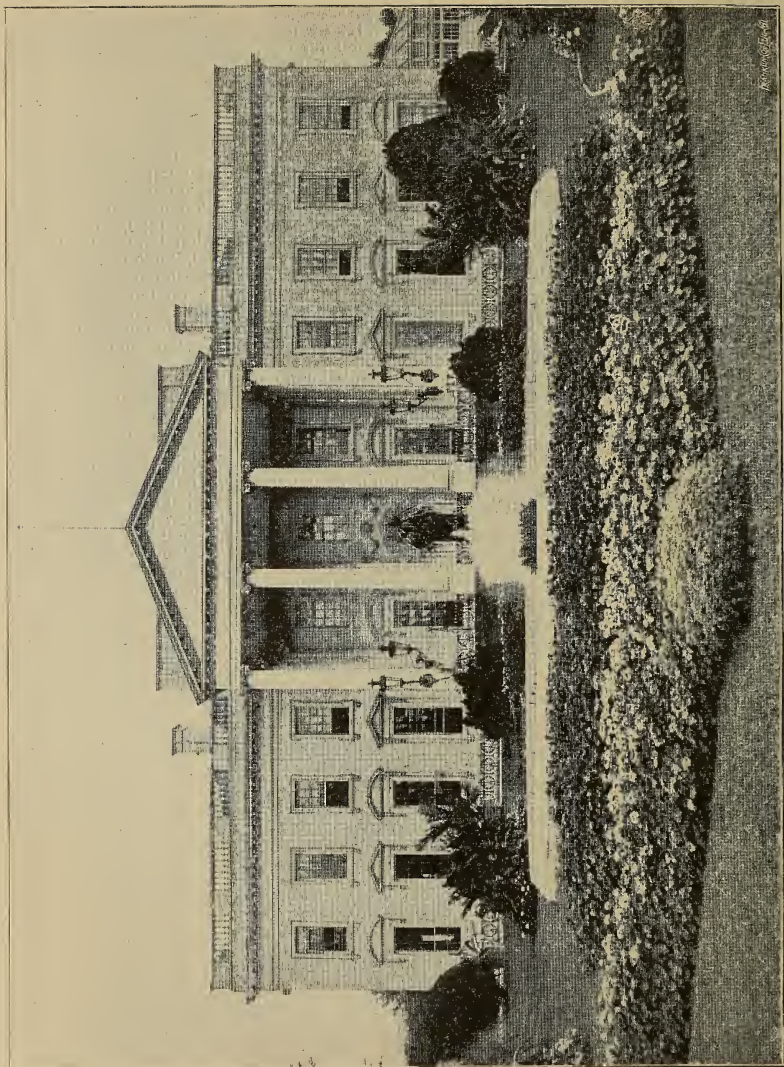
a large and roomy structure, which was donated for the purpose by a Mr. Leonard, a retired merchant of the place.

The march of sixteen miles over the rough and mountainous road from Monongahela City to Brownsville was one of the hardest in the history of the undertaking; not only were all the men much fatigued, but most of them were so footsore from walking in mud-hardened shoes that they were scarcely able to maintain their places in the line. The citizens of Brownsville had prepared for them such a supper as they had not seen, eaten or tasted for many days; sixty gallons of strong and nourishing vegetable soup, together with cans of corn, peas, tomatoes and other vegetables, and with plenty of good black coffee and bread, forming a repast that to the half-famished men was, indeed, a feast.

Leaving "Camp Chicago Express" the following morning at 10 o'clock, the men were in excellent spirits and almost fully recovered from the hardships of the previous forty-eight hours. They stepped out briskly on the road to Uniontown, where they arrived in the afternoon. It was on the road between these two places that an accident occurred, which formed the subject of a great deal of merriment for the newspaper men, and was telegraphed all over the country the following day. A Miss Claybrough, keeper of the toll-gate near Uniontown, disregarding the precedent established by other gate-keepers all over the country, refused to let the army go by without paying toll, and although she was simply a woman and alone, she successfully carried her point. It cost President Coxey \$1.87 before the Commonwealers could continue on their way to Uniontown. On reaching Searight, Marshal Browne remained behind, in order to address a meeting of some two hundred farmers who had gathered together and who wanted an exposition of the Commonwealth movement. At Wrightsville, which is a hamlet of scarcely more than a dozen houses, a large American flag was hung across the road, and the entire population was out on the turnpike to give the men a hearty welcome. Local dealers in shoes, clothing and merchandise of all kinds contributed supplies to the army, and it had not been in the town over two hours before large numbers of citizens were wearing Coxey badges and treating the crusaders as honored and welcome guests in their midst. Two beeves were killed in order to make a Coxey holiday. Ex-Sheriff McCormick, owner of a large trotting track and head of the street-car lines of



THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.



THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Uniontown, tendered the army the use of the park for a camping place, which was accepted and named "Camp Abraham Lincoln;" during the night another severe storm came on, and the Commonwealth was delayed here until the 11th. The men were very poorly sheltered in the shanties at the race track, which were so frail in character that it was almost unsafe to remain in them during the time that the wind was at its highest.



CHAPTER X.

UNIONTOWN TO CUMBERLAND.

The Commonweal marched out of Uniontown upon the morning of Wednesday, April 11, in a drizzling storm of rain and sleet; and owing to the weather very few of the people were out on the streets to witness its departure. Many of the men had obtained pieces of coarse sacking or burlap, which they threw over their shoulders as a scant, yet additional, protection against the storm. The route was the national pike, which, on leaving Uniontown, takes its course directly up the western side of the mountain. In places it is steep and rocky, and had it not been for the assistance of the cowboy crusaders, who used their lariats, thus assisting the tired and worn out horses, the commissary wagons could never have been taken to the summit. As the men toiled upward the rain changed to a heavy wet snow, which, settling on their clothing, soon wet the men to the skin. By the time the top of the ridge was reached, the snow on the hills was a foot deep, and both men and teams experienced great difficulty in getting through it. As the body left the city it passed rows of smoking coke ovens, straggling negro quarters and a toll-gate, where the blind keeper determined by the sense of hearing the number of horses in the procession. A little beyond the hamlet of Hepwood, the army passed the ruins of Mose Carr's old place. Carr obtained historic notoriety in this locality by operating an illicit distillery. Of course he was an object of search by revenue officers, and, finally, after a hard fight one day, he was captured and sent to prison, where he died not long since. Just beyond the summit of the ridge is a spot full of historic interest. It is the grave of General Braddock, who fell near by in a fight with the Indians during the French and Indian War of the old colonial days. A little farther on, and in the center of a hollow known as Great Meadows, are the ruins of Fort Necessity, which was built by General Braddock and used by him as a place of refuge in the earlier part of the campaign in which

he met his death. Near nightfall the Commonweal reached Chalk Hill and went into camp in an ancient colonial mansion, which stood alone and deserted a little distance back from the highway. The men, tired and jaded from their long day's march through the snow and storm, did not trouble themselves with reflections on the ancient splendor of the building that furnished them a lodging place, but went quickly to work to make it as comfortable and cozy as circumstances would permit. Logs were brought from a tumble-down barn near by, and soon a huge fire was roaring in the old-fashioned fireplace. Shabby coats and hats were stuffed into broken window sashes, fallen doors were braced up with timbers or boards torn from the rooms themselves, and busy preparations were soon going forward for the evening meal.

Outside the wind was blowing almost a gale, and the snow was already over a foot in depth. In every direction stand frowning mountains sparsely covered with great trees, stunted oaks and laurel bushes; nothing more dreary or desolate as a landscape picture could be imagined. President Coxey rode on ahead and found quarters in the turnpike station, two miles away. He had the honor of being put to bed in a great old-fashioned four-posted relic of revolutionary days, and in which, it was claimed, had reposed such great men as Henry Clay and William Henry Harrison.

It was here in the old deserted stone mansion that Browne issued one of the most famous of his numerous general orders. This was No. 17, and in part is as follows:

"Today you have not only won the respect of every admirer of the heroic, but you have demonstrated in still more forcible manner the fact that you are not the lazy and vicious class that some of the newspapers brand you. When I asked you this morning if you felt like going out in the blinding snowstorm, up the steep slope of the mountains, not knowing where you were to camp no more than myself, I confess I expected to see you falter; but every one of you responded, excepting poor Frank Miller, Commune C, Group 16, a Pittsburg mill hand. He was too sick to go, and through the kindness of Brother George A. McCormick, of Uniontown, he was taken to a hospital there.

"That the wind is sometimes tempered to the shorn lamb is exemplified in our fortunate camp in the old Akerman mansion tonight, but it was through the exertions of Brother Coxey in

advance of us that we enjoy comfort far beyond what a tent shelter would afford this wild and stormy evening. You need fear nothing more severe than you have experienced today on the rest of the journey, and when you reach the other side of the mountains your names will go on the scroll of fame. Like Henry V. said to his men after the battle of Agincourt, your names will be as familiar as household words."

The march was resumed on the following morning at 9 o'clock for Addison. A number of tall, raw-boned mountaineers had gathered, early as it was, to witness the Commonwealth's departure. By 9 o'clock the column was in motion, slowly wending its toilsome way up the mountains. After traveling for several miles the summit of Keyser's Ridge was reached, where a short halt was made before beginning the descent into Kaindon valley, which is threaded by a small creek bearing the same name. In this valley are situated what might well be called the ruins of a town of the past, Jockey Hollow. Its few dilapidated houses have fallen into decay, and the people who came out to see the force go by were themselves as old and decrepit, for the most part, as were the domiciles in which they dwelt. Beyond the ruins of the old Jockey Hollow sawmill the army entered into a stretch of bottoms covered with beautiful farms. Before reaching Somerfield the army crossed an old stone bridge over the Youghiogheny river, and marched up a steep road, along which stands every building in the little town. Here the army stopped for two hours. The horses received a good feed, and the chief of the commissary department served each man with four crackers, labeled "U. S. Hard Tack," and a thick piece of fat meat.

At the top of the first hill after leaving Somerfield, the Commonwealth was met by a band from Addison in a four-horse wagon, which was followed by a troop of sixteen horsemen, all dressed in the calico costumes of a local dramatic organization. The army cheered lustily, and it was answered by "The Star-spangled Banner" from the band. Just as the army was well under way again, the sheriff and his deputies appeared in a platform wagon and preceded the column into Addison. Here Advance Agent Childs had been at work all day and had secured quarters for the entire force. The village streets were full of mountaineers, whose personal appearance was quite as bedraggled and unkempt as that of the Commonwealthers. There was little or no cheering, in

spite of the fact that the old, gray-haired driver of the band-wagon stood up and doffed his hat to the crowd as he went by. Passing through the town, the army turned into a garden, where the tents were pitched in an old cabbage patch. Here it was discovered that the town was full of stories about the fear of the citizens from the Commonweal's approach. One farmer was so frightened that he went out in a blinding snowstorm and planted his potatoes rather than leave them in his cellar to be stolen.

The men slept in a large, commodious barn which was donated to their use by Jasper Augustine, one of the oldest and wealthiest farmers of the country. They passed a fairly comfortable night, and were astir early in the morning. The next day broke clear, with all signs promising beautiful weather. Breakfast was served an hour earlier than usual, and the men started on their march over the highest part of the Alleghanies. The region over which they were now traveling is one in which snow falls in July. The roads were still in fearful condition, and this fact, coupled with the known hostility of the mountaineers to the movement, made the journey both perilous and tedious. At eleven o'clock the Maryland state line was reached, and while the Commonweal was crossing the band played the air of "Maryland." Three cheers were given for the Keystone State which they were leaving, and there was a noticeable rise in the feelings of the men at this point. The night was passed in a delightful valley, through which coursed a beautiful stream, the men finding comfortable quarters in an abandoned distillery. One of its members was offered a dollar for his badge by a curiosity seeker, which he promptly accepted, and invested the money in whisky. Inside of an hour he imagined himself controlling the whole movement, and a little later was turned over to the authorities and locked up. A fairly comfortable night was passed, and at an early hour in the morning the Commonweal continued its march toward Cumberland, where it arrived the following day. It was during this journey that the events occurred which led to the "Unknowns" leaving the army, an affair which caused a great deal of press comment at the time. It was high noon when the body entered the city and accepted the hospitality of the street railroad company in its baseball grounds, where the tent was pitched. This stopping place was christened "Camp Victory." The people of Cumberland came out in great numbers in the afternoon to listen to

speeches from President Coxey and Marshal Browne. At this place an admittance fee of ten cents was charged. The receipts from this source were \$100, while other cash receipts were \$100, besides a present of a whole beef and a plentiful supply of provisions.



CHAPTER XI.

HANCOCK TO HAGERSTOWN.

The 16th day of April still found the army at Cumberland, which date was also the anniversary of President Coxey's birthday. On the evening of this day a meeting was held in a large hall, and the leader addressed an audience which taxed it to its utmost capacity. At this town it was decided to provide for the further transportation of the Commonweal by water, and, accordingly, Mr. Coxey chartered two canal boats from the Consolidated Coal Company to take his men, teams and baggage to Williamsport, a distance of eighty-five miles. It was at once thought that some objection would be made by the state to the transportation of the army over this body of water, which is state property, but instructions came from Georgetown assenting to the contract, and the rate was fixed at fifty-two cents a ton. The estimate was two hundred men, at one hundred and fifty pounds each, eighteen horses, five wagons and a buggy, making a total of twenty-five tons.

The proper line of march, had plans not been changed, would have been to leave Cumberland on Sunday morning and march down the pike to Hancock, sixty miles away, where it was expected the army would arrive on the 18th, but the condition of the men was such that they could not possibly have made over fifteen miles a day, even on good roads. Williamsport was to have been reached on the 19th, and Hagerstown on the following evening.

At noon on Tuesday, April 17, the Commonweal, bag and baggage, and in the presence of the entire population of the city of Cumberland, which had assembled to make it a gala occasion, embarked on the two boats which had been christened "Coxey" and "Good Roads," to start on their journey down the canal. Each boat was drawn through the water by six large mules, and while the progress was of course slow, yet the voyage was a great

relief in contrast to the wearisome tramp which the men had just made over the mountains. At North Branch A. H. Dowden, register of wills at Cumberland, halted the squadron and furnished coffee and cigars for the entire party. Marshal Browne announced here that the Commonweal would travel day and night, stopping only for meals and speeches. He also informed the men that the certificates of merit, which had been promised to those who had stayed with the army during the march over the Alleghanies, had been printed and would be distributed on the following day.

The evening of the 18 found the Commonweal fifty miles nearer Washington than it was the day before, and half way between Hancock and Williamsport, and approaching ground made famous by John Brown in ante-bellum days. Breakfast was taken this morning on the tow-path at Bill Bell's lock, and a stop was made long enough to allow the men to indulge in bathing and footracing, to relieve the cramped condition of their limbs, occasioned by the rather close quarters in which they had passed the previous day and night. The day's journey was through a rich farming country, and the air was laden with the odor of the peach blossoms that were everywhere in abundant bloom.

Meanwhile, at Hancock, toward which town the men were hourly coming nearer, there was no little excitement. Crowds had been flocking in from three states since 4 in the morning. Sheriff Charles H. Hegbert came from Hagerstown to assist the mayor in preserving order, and the police force was doubled in order to cope with any possible emergency. It was nearly dusk when the barges containing the Commonweal tied up under the bridge at Hancock. Although the town was crowded with people there were no demonstrations, nor had any attempt been made to give the army a reception, nor to extend hospitality to the visitors. The citizens refused to supply provisions, and the crusaders obtained supper from the commissary wagon. No restrictions were made, however, to prevent the disembarking of the army, which it did after supper, and mingled with the people, when speeches were made by both President Coxey and Marshal Browne.

On the morning of the 19th the "Squadron of Revolution," which it had come to be called, dropped anchor in front of Williamsport, Md. The boats were unloaded, and the army disembarked and

went into camp on the Potomac Meadow, a beautiful spot situated between the river and canal. The night's voyage had been made in a dashing spring rain, and on the morning of disembarkation the weather was still wet and showery. The morning meal, consisting of salt pork and hard tack, was hastily prepared and eaten, and in the afternoon the army paraded through the principal streets, and speeches were made by both Mr. Coxey and Marshal Browne. The citizens at this place were not at all demonstrative, but a delegation of ladies came over from Martinsburgh, W. Va., and presented Mr. Coxey with a large and handsome bouquet of flowers.

From Williamsport to Hagerstown is a march of six miles, which distance was covered the following day, and the men went into camp at this place early in the afternoon. The citizens of Hagerstown did not take kindly to the movement, and a little difficulty was encountered in securing a place for the men to camp. Small donations of food and provisions were made, but Marshal Browne was compelled to buy firewood and horsefeed. There were no recruits at this place. On the march from Williamsport to Georgetown occurred an incident which illustrates somewhat the "go as you please" fashion with which southern railroads are operated. At one point the crusaders were tramping along by the side of the Western Maryland Railroad when a passenger train came in sight. The engineer blew his whistle as a token of greeting to the army, and, then, noticing that just ahead was a sharp curve which would carry the train out of sight, he coolly stopped the train, leaned out of the cab window, and held a few minutes' good natured conversation with the marchers as they passed by. When the column tramped out of sight, he pulled the throttle of the engine and the train slowly moved away.

While the army was at Hagerstown, the writer of a local paper gave the following brief description of the personnel of the men and the discipline which existed at this time. He said: "Take a casual glance at this army, and the impression is 'Tramps.' Look more closely at their faces and you become doubtful. Talk with the men and you speedily become convinced that they are not tramps in the common acceptance of the word. These men have worked; many of them work now. They are under discipline, and they stand up under it like soldiers. One incident to illustrate this:

"Thursday last, on the canal boats, a man in the forward boat dropped a bucket overboard. 'Jump,' shouted his commander, and jump he did, into the water, recovered his bucket, and walked two miles to the next lock before he was taken on board again. There is, too, a well defined sense of honor among them. On the same day one of the men accused another of stealing from him a pair of shoes. There was a general demand that the accused man be tried and fired. The case was called at once, but the evidence not being strong enough to convict, nothing was done, yet all the afternoon that poor fellow sat in one position in the forward part of the boat, with his head between his hands, and at times was seen to cry like a child. That is not characteristic of a tramp."

The Commonwealth remained in camp at Hagerstown through Sunday, on the afternoon of which day a meeting was held inside the camp ground, around which a wall had been erected, and notwithstanding the fact that an admission fee was charged, the attendance was larger than that of all the Hagerstown churches combined. This fact was commented upon by the local paper in rather a sarcastic vein.

The Commonwealth left Hagerstown on Monday in a departure much more sensational than was its entry three days before. With banners flying and the different communes distinctly marked into groups by the lumbering wagons of the commissary, the body of men, now larger in numbers than at any other time since leaving Pittsburg, moved slowly down the grassy sides of Logan Hill and into the business center of the town. Here a halt was called, and the chief marshal led in the customary cheering for the good citizens of the place, and the usual complimentary recognition of the treatment they had accorded to the crusaders; then, wheeling in his saddle, he called for three groans for a local personage, once a famous commander of the Confederate artillery, who participated in some of the most notable battles of the late war. This ex-Confederate, it appears, suggested that when the army reached Hagerstown its members should be put to work breaking rock on the streets. The men gave the groans with considerable vigor, which were heard by a gentleman named Stonebreaker, head of the city police force. Unfortunately, this gentleman was very deaf, and he instantly construed this demonstration of the body to apply to himself. His hot southern blood was boiling in a

minute. He started toward Marshal Browne with the words, "I'll pull that man off his hoss, sah." The bystanders interfered and explained what was meant, and further trouble was averted. As the column moved forward along South Jonathan street, Jennie Burke, an aged negro woman, with a yellow handkerchief tied in a turban about her head, stood on the corner watching the procession. As the Commonweal swung round the corner, the band playing "The Wearing of the Green," the old lady sank to the sidewalk and almost immediately expired.

Col. A. A. Redstone, who had been conducting the Washington end of the campaign, arrived here before the men started on their march and had a long conference with Marshal Browne. It was given out on his authority that fifteen thousand men living in Washington city would join the movement as soon as it reached the capital.

CHAPTER XII.

ON TO WASHINGTON.

After a three days' stop at Hagerstown, the Commonweal, on the morning of the 23d, set out on its march toward Frederick, notwithstanding that it had been reported that the mayor of that city, aided by its citizens, was making preparations to give it a cool reception. The Sunday services at Camp Nazareth were largely attended, and nearly fifty dollars was collected at the gates. The usual admission fee of ten cents was charged. When the Montgomery county line was reached the body came to a halt on account of a rather startling rumor which had somehow gained credence that a detachment of United States cavalry had been ordered to Frederick, so that when the Commonweal reached that point they would be compelled to face an armed force. In order to ascertain the truth of this report, Marshal Browne galloped on ahead to Boonsboro, where he procured a quantity of muslin, to be used in making a number of white flags. Each one of these emblems of truce bore the words, "Commonweal of Christ, Communes A, B, C, D, and E. Peace on earth, good will to men." It was believed that these alone would be sufficient to protect the body from any interference on the part of the soldiers at this town. Along the march it was developed that George Francis Train had been sending daily postal cards of advice and instruction ever since the movement had started, and the latest information obtained from him was that he would join the army at Rockville. Marshal Browne gave it out to the newspaper man that, in the event of the celebrated "American Citizen" attempting to join the Commonweal, he would not be admitted. The march was soon resumed and continued until Boonsboro was reached, where the crusaders bivouacked for the night on the identical spot of ground occupied by the first Rhode Island regiment during the battle of South Mountain. The famous battlefield is within gunshot distance of where the camp was pitched,

It was somewhere near this place too, that General Reno was killed in the engagement that was only the preliminary fight leading up to the great battle of Antietam. Perhaps, not since that memorable day has Boonsboro seen such a crowd as was in town to witness the advent of the army of the Commonweal. A large crowd also gathered in the evening to listen to the speeches which were received in silence, and with no evidence of interest or enthusiasm. Thirty-four recruits joined the movement at this place.

On the following morning the camp was broken, and the march continued toward Frederick. When Bolivar Heights was reached the crusaders were met by a posse of thirty armed and mounted deputy sheriffs, sent out by Sheriff Zimmerman to escort them into town. The men marched along in silence, making no demonstration of any character, and on reaching Frederick went into camp still practically under surveillance of the deputy sheriffs. As has been already stated, the mayor of Frederick and many of the citizens were bitterly opposed to the coming of the Commonweal to their city. This prevailing sentiment no doubt prompted the sheriff in taking the action he did in furnishing the army an armed escort into town; but when the people saw the Commonwealers and their character, there was a sudden change of opinion. The sheriff was denounced openly for the steps he had taken, which had caused a useless expenditure of public funds, and instead of the army finding here a hostile feeling, which they had been led to expect, within a few hours' time from their arrival the citizens were vying with each other in trying to make the men comfortable and in contributing supplies of all kinds.

President Coxey rejoined the army at this town, on his return from New York city, where business matters had taken him. In the evening a meeting was held and speeches were made by both Mr. Coxey and Marshal Browne, and considerable interest was manifested in them, and also in Mr. Coxey's scheme for the improvement of the roads of the country.

The approach of the Commonweal movement toward Washington, and the evident fact that their leaders were in earnest in their intention to push forward until the Capitol City was reached, had the effect of eliciting from the Commissioners of the District of Columbia a proclamation to the men, warning them to stay

away. This document, being the official utterance of the governing board of the district, excited considerable interest throughout the country, and, being the first official recognition the army had received, is deemed important enough to be given full insertion here:

"OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
WASHINGTON, April 23. }

To Whom it May Concern:

"WHEREAS, It is reported that several organized bodies of men are approaching the District of Columbia with the avowed purpose of securing such congressional action as will relieve the condition of unemployed laborers throughout the country; and,

"WHEREAS, All unemployed men and others throughout the country who may be in sympathy with the movement have been invited to assemble in front of the National Capitol on May 1 for the purpose of compelling favorable action by Congress by mere force of numbers and physical presence; and,

"WHEREAS, The constitutional right of petition does not justify methods dangerous to peace and good order which threaten the quiet of the National Capitol, which are contrary to law and opposed to the ordinary means of obtaining legislative relief under our system of government; and,

"WHEREAS, It is declared to be the intention of this body of unemployed and destitute people not only to gather together for the purpose aforesaid at the city of Washington, but there to remain until their mission shall have been accomplished; and,

"WHEREAS, The National Capitol is chiefly devoted to public business, and is the center of Federal legislation, and, as a result of its lack of ordinary means of affording employment, is now taxed to its utmost capacity in charitable efforts to care for its own poor and unemployed, now, therefore, the commissioners of the District of Columbia, who are charged with the duty of maintaining peace and good order and with enforcing the laws in said district, being sensible of the gravity of the situation, and fully appreciating the hardship which must come upon many innocent but misguided people if this ill-considered movement should be continued, do hereby appeal, in the interest of humanity and in furtherance of the peace and good order which are enjoined by the laws in force in said district, to the good sense and patriotism of all those en-

gaged in or who contemplate taking any part in the proposed demonstration, and urge them to reconsider their intention to come into the District of Columbia for that purpose.

"No possible good can come of such a gathering, and with no proper preparations or means of subsistence, suffering and ultimate disorder will certainly ensue. No wrong can be righted, no condition of labor ameliorated, no remedy for any existing evil realized by the contemplated demonstration of physical force. Every desirable end can be more certainly and effectively accomplished by ordinary and lawful methods. The commissioners, while in entire sympathy with all people out of employment, and having no desire or purpose to deal harshly with unfortunate but honest men, who seek relief by reasonable and lawful means, are in duty bound to give notice to those who are tempted under any pretext to swell the number of unemployed persons already here that there is neither work for them nor means for their maintenance in the district; that the law does not permit the soliciting of alms in our streets, and forbids parades, assemblages, or orations in the capitol grounds and the obstruction of any public grounds, streets, highways, or avenues, and the approaches to public or private buildings.

"The commissioners give notice also to the criminals and evil-doers who, under cover of a crowd of unemployed men in our streets, may come for the purpose of crime and disorder that all such will be apprehended and summarily dealt with.

"And finally, they give notice to all who come here against their advice and protest that the laws in force in the District of Columbia are adequate for every emergency and will be rigidly enforced.

"JOHN W. ROSS,

"GEORGE TRUESDELL,

"CHARLES F. POWELL.

"Commissioners of the District of Columbia."

In regard to this proclamation, President Coxey, in a statement made for publication, said that he was not surprised that the commissioners should take this step, that the manifesto was only what might be expected under the circumstances. He declared this issuance would make no difference in the movements of the Commonwealth, and that they would march "on to Washington."

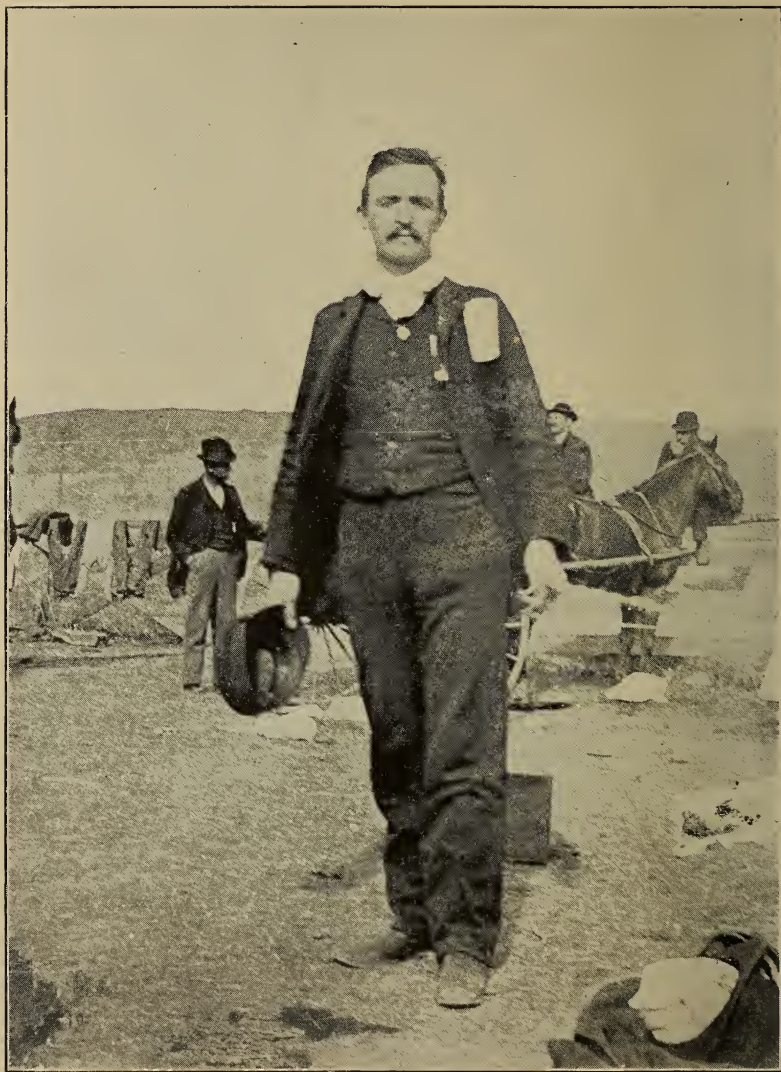
CHAPTER XIII.

PETITION IN BOOTS.

An interesting fact in connection with Coxey's Army of the Commonweal is its permanent character. From the time it left Massillon until it reached Frederick, instead of being a kaleidoscope of constantly changing personalities, it suffered little diminution in numbers from desertions, but crossed the mountains into Maryland with scarcely a name stricken from its original muster-rolls. That roster, furnished by its commanding officers up to the halt in Maryland is as follows: President, J. S. Coxey; chief marshal, Carl Browne; chief of staff, Jesse Coxey; commissary marshal, A. H. Blinn; quartermaster marshal, Samuel Pfrimmer; band marshal, J. J. Thayer; recruiting officers, John Schrumm, Frank Ball; community marshal, John Brodersek; band, Charles Smith, Charles Hicks, Tom Smith, Sam. Hogland, Arthur Leibman; chief cook, John Lyons; teamsters, Mat Fenney, Wat Davis, John Taylor, Fred Brown, Dennis McCrow, Jack O'Neill, John Parks, James Duddy, George Glidden, Frank Palmer, Ed. Huffman, Fred Swartz, Thomas Stewart, William Branson, Adam Rider; commune marshals, Henry Besselmann, C. W. Wood, James Overdorf, Charles White; privates, Fred. Masters, William Walsh, J. J. James, Casper Boyle, Charles Murray, Charles Gale, George Ellis, J. J. Donley, J. Middleton, John Hennessey, J. Quinn, Steve Casey, George Spiller, Ed. Abraham, J. Mitchell, J. Frank, J. Veale, F. Akerman, H. Martin, John Barrows, Ed. Chimborasky, Adam Ox, Clarence Stell, P. McDermott, Gus. Tesslar, F. Kasoyrki, Aug. Denzier, Ed. Walthers, Pat. Coyle, Frank Andre, O. Frank, Charles Pohl, John Knightley, Silas Byers, John Gibbs. Commune "A:" Joe King, Fred Barton, Jos. Larn, Jno. Mace, John Fisher, John Riggs, A. M. Metcalf, A. F. Patterson, Charles McKeenan, Edward McManus, John J. Reid, Ed. Rilderback, Richard Leonard, Frank Duval, Pat. Keenhan, Dan Homan, Wm. Rohte, Wm. H. Fitzgerald, Mike Ross, John Ward, John Crowley,



VIOLA AND ALICE M. BRADLEY.



GEN. KELLEY AT CAMP DESPAIR CHAUTAUQUA.

John Henry, Frank Mutz, Ed. Thomson, John Crawford, Frank Young, John Gundren, John Phillips, Louis Langevin, George Gordon, Charles Thomas, Dick Mallow, Charles Feese, T. J. Hastings, Robt. Hurley, Henry Hyman, J. P. Kelley, Wm. Crowley, Wm. P. Stevens, Peter Fagle, Wm. Anderson, James Wilson. Commune "B:" W. H. Reese, F. P. Gonser, James Keenan, John Hoffman, Gottlieb Hoffman, Anton Krieger, Andy Rowe, Christ. Rubin, James Kelley, Wm. Donoyon, Clark Adams, Will Garrett, Joe Murphy, Harry Wilday, Andre Fayette, Julius Collins, B. Ren, Joseph Corregan, W. E. Outland, C. F. Maier, Geo. A. Stevenson, John Baker. Commune "C:" T. C. Hague, S. W. Stevenson, Harry Carroll, Harry Van Buren, L. W. Baston, John Stratton, George Burnham, Howard Dayton, J. C. Morgan, Ed. Smith, John Leonard, William Fogarty, Tom Williams, G. L. Boulett, Walter Stewart, Charles Smith, James McSorley, John Park, Michael McDonald, Tom White, Arthur Hogan, John Coyle, Maurice Sweeney, Frank Krawmcki, John Patterson, Charles Borgris.

The first order issued to the Commonweal Army, was from Coxiana, Ohio, and under date of March 22. It is not without interest in connection with the narrative told in these pages. The order, which is here given in full, is as follows:

GENERAL ORDERS NO. 1.

The following official document has been promulgated:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE COMMONWEAL OF CHRIST, ON TO WASHINGTON.

The Marshal's Orders, No. 1.

COXIANA, OHIO, March 22, 1894.

BROTHERS—Greeting: The first camp of the Commonweal will be struck Saturday morning, March 24, in the city of Massillon, Ohio, through the courtesy of the Massillon Gun Club, on their grounds, and the marshals of all groups, communes, communities, and cantons, will please report to the undersigned in the headquarters tent of the J. S. Coxey Good Roads Association on the said grounds as soon as possible after arrival, first marching their commands to the inside of the spacious tent adjoining, that will be erected for the purpose. All such officers will please refrain from the use of the titles used by snubocracy of the old dispensation of "general," "colonel," "captain," "lieutenant," "soldiers," and so on.

This is a civic demonstration, and we are all citizens, and the necessary authority of marshal that some of us hold and will be clothed with should not cause any of us to feel big over titles. We are simply parts to the commonweal of all. The toes of a human being are as valuable parts as the eyes or the brain, and that spirit should always pervade this commonweal. We dissent from the monstrous doctrine that man is by nature vile; that is, we believe, a libel upon the Creator. Let us prove it in our conduct, not only in Massillon, but all along the route to Washington, for upon the truth of this rests the success of this move. We are not a military organization, nor has the undersigned any power to enforce the military discipline, nor neither does he chose to, but rather to exercise that intelligence that directs the human system in the lines of self preservation in all the avocations of life.

Let us hope that the mayors of Massillon, and elsewhere we go, will exercise that surveillance which they do on all occasions, such as inauguration day, great church demonstrations, circus days, etc., when the vicious, made so by unjust laws, commit depredations, and that when such crimes as these, that something occur on such days, are committed, that the honest portions of the officials and press will not say that we are responsible for them any more than if a crime is committed at the dedication of a church, or the inauguration of a president or governor. Let any citizen who joins the Commonwealth remember that in coming to Massillon here and going to Washington he is among friends—not enemies, and let us hope and so conduct ourselves as to inspire that feeling in the breasts of the citizens of Massillon and elsewhere, and all will be well.

At the same time remember that there are a few people in the United States who will never look upon U. S. other than as if a reflection in mirror of themselves—tigers—blood-thirsty Bengals of the jungle—who, having run down their prey, will snarl, growl and fight for it, even if they cannot eat all they have captured; they will judge us as by themselves—of what they would do if they were as many of us hungry. That class of human tigers will try to get poor misguided creatures to join our ranks to show discord, and speak unjudiciously—and as at Haymarket possibly be arrested by a preconcerted arrangement with officers with bombs in their possession.

Let every citizen of the Commonwealth remember that the law

clothes everyone of us with authority to arrest any such person found in our ranks, and to call on other citizens to help turn them over to the authorities; but it is better, to avoid confusion, to report at once all such information to headquarters. If there be any timid persons along our line of march who have become frightened by the press or addled by mayors in ill-advised interviews that we are Huns and vandals, dispel these fears. We have sufficient food promised us so as not to be as much feared as a state militia, regiment of bankers' clerks and other scions of dudedom, marching through the country. Your daughters are in no danger from us, and your silver and gold are as dross to men who believe legal tender money of paper.

The exercises of the day will consist of a meeting in the large tent at 1 o'clock P. M. Citizens of the Commonwealth are expected to mass in front. Brother J. S. Coxey will explain his two bills now in the Senate Committee on education to labor, through courtesy of Senator Pepper, of Kansas, No. 1787 and 1788, respectively. The undersigned will exhibit and explain his panorama of the national banking system. While this meeting is going on, those who wish to contribute to our commissary wagons can do so, as they will be on the ground while one is visiting the stores of the city. The remainder of the day and evening will be spent in perfecting organization of the Commonwealth in the tent, and all who choose to spend the night themselves will be welcome.

"Hereditary bondsmen know ye not;

He who would be free must himself first strike the blow."

CARL BROWNE, Marshal.

The latest movements of the Coxey forces obtainable for use in this work are fully and officially set forth in the following General Order, issued by Marshal Browne at Camp Lafayette, Frederick, Md., dated April 25. It reads:

"*Comrades of the Commonwealth:* Bugle call will be blown tomorrow at 6 o'clock, breakfast at 7, forward march at 8 to Urbana, Md., where we will stop for lunch and to feed our horses. We will then move on to Camp Henrietta, named in honor of Mr. J. S. Coxey's wife, in Hyattstown, Md., where we will camp tomorrow night.

"Just before reaching Camp Legal Tender (named after Mr. Coxey's youngest) at Rockville, Md., Recruiting Officers Schrum and Ball will distribute a staff of peace—an oak stick four feet

long, on which is a flag of peace bearing the letters of your respective communes. On each one is the name of the member to whom it is given. A loss of this stick without sufficient reason will be considered your discharge from the Commonwealth of Christ.

"The deputy sheriffs have taken to the woods, but tomorrow they may put in an appearance to earn their per diem. Be not disrespectful to them, or to anyone else for that matter. We are fast undermining the structure of monopoly in the hearts of the people. Like Cyrus of old we are turning aside the 'boodler's' Euphrates and will soon be able to march over the dry bed under the walls of the second Babylon, and its mysteries, too. The infernal, blood-sucking bond system will be overthrown, for 'the handwriting is on the wall.'"

CHAPTER XIV.

LIFE OF CARL BROWNE.

Carl Browne has been one of the central figures of the Coxey movement, his name appearing in every issue of every newspaper of America during the past four months. A sketch of the life of this remarkable man can not fail to prove of interest at this juncture. Mr. Browne was born on July 4, 1849, in a log smokehouse near Sherman station, six miles from Springfield, Ill. His mother, whose maiden name was McNab, was of Scotch-Irish parentage. His father was born in Tennessee, of Virginia and Pennsylvania stock, and was a veteran of the Mexican War, being a private in Colonel Hardin's regiment. He was also a captain in the Sixty-Eighth Illinois in the War of the Rebellion. At the breaking out of that war, young Carl was apprenticed in a printing office, and at its close, when with his father, his mother having in the meantime died, he went to Iowa, where he learned the trade of a painter. His first painting of note was the "Lord's Supper." In 1869, having read Albert Richardson's works, "Beyond the Mississippi," he was fired with a desire to go there and paint the "Yosemite." About six months after his arrival in the Sierras, he spent a long time sketching in the valley, and painted a panorama of it which was afterward exhibited all over the United States, as was also one of the Franco-Prussian War, which was his handiwork.

In June, 1872, Mr. Browne was married to Miss Alice Currier, of Athol, Mass., a sea-captain's daughter, and settled down, following his profession as an artist, at Berkley, Cal. In 1877, at the time of the great Pennsylvania strike, his sympathies were first aroused for his fellow-men. From the first he threw all the ardor of his nature into the balance in favor of labor, like the artist David at the time of the French revolution. From that time until today he has devoted himself to the labor cause, with the exception of times when, through sheer necessity, he was compelled to

turn his attention to the calls of his family and devote himself to his profession.

During the Pennsylvania strike, the law and order committee of San Francisco, under the leadership of W. T. Coleman, of vigilance fame, sought to suppress his paper, called the "Great Strike," and threatened to hang him to a lamp post if he attempted to publish it. He got the paper out and continued its publication as an anti-Chinese newspaper, under the name of the "Open Letter," backing up Dennis Kearney's agitation with cartoons for many months. He became Kearney's right hand man through all the trying times of police arrests, and afterward accompanied him all over the United States as his manager and also as special correspondent of the San Francisco *Chronicle*. It was during this trip that he outwitted Captain Blackford, of the Washington police force, and succeeded in getting permission for Kearney to speak upon the steps of the Capitol in 1878.

This Chinese agitation resulted in the placing of a law upon the statute books excluding the Chinese from entering this country, a matter at the first deemed impossible. In 1880, having recouped himself with sufficient means, he started the publication of the San Francisco *Daily Graphic*, advocating General Weaver for the presidency; but it was uphill work advocating paper money in a gold producing state. Having exhausted his resources he was compelled to let it suspend. In 1882 he assisted in the management of the Greenback campaign, of California, and in 1884 he was sent as a Greenbacker to the National Convention of the Democratic party at Chicago, to urge, if possible, the nomination of Gen. Benjamin Butler for president.

Mr. Browne painted, in 1886, a panorama of the Battle of Gettysburg and exhibited it in an amphitheater on Market House Square, near the City Hall, for six months, making considerable money, which he spent as chairman of the United States Labor party in that year. In the meantime he had homesteaded a piece of land up in Napa County, California, near Calistoga, which is now his home. Two years later he went to Los Angeles and started a weekly cartoon paper called the *Cactus*, which soon became famous all over the United States; and in the campaign of 1888 he made special war upon the county treasurer, who, he claimed, was nominated by a local bank to advance its interests, with the result that the alleged bank candidate was defeated, which

so aroused the ire of the banker that he used his financial power upon the business community to withdraw their advertising and by other means succeeded in breaking up Browne's paper.

As he had also fought and defeated two alleged schemes to bond the city of Los Angeles, a conspiracy was formed, as Mr. Browne charged, by boodlers and bankers, to railroad him into the penitentiary. An indictment was procured, as was afterward shown, by the influence of money, but after the prosecution had closed its case Judge Cheney instructed the jury that it was its duty to acquit without any defense on his part. Although a free man, he was financially broken up.

Mr. Browne conducted, in 1890, the campaign for the United Labor party, and purchased the Napa County *Daily Reporter*, published near his home, intending to settle down for life. Just at this time, through worry and excitement of his long struggle against organized society and for reforms for which he had continually suffered arrests and other indignities, his wife suddenly became deranged, and while all of her relatives but her mother urged her incarceration in an asylum he refused to do so, and took her up to their mountain home, to nurse her back to health, spending a year in this task, during which time he painted up the panorama he is now exhibiting with Mr. Coxey.

Following this, in the spring of 1892, he was elected a delegate from the First Congressional District by the People's Party Convention of California to the National Omaha People's Party Convention. At this convention he made such a hit that the state committee of Nebraska arranged with him to campaign the state for Weaver and Field.

On returning to California in November he went direct to his home. In December his wife, who had grown better in mind, was attacked with pneumonia and passed away on Christmas day. It was during these last days that he claims he reached the discovery, a new principle in theosophy, which he denominated "soul absorption;" that is, that the soul in passing out of the physical body by death on its way to its reservoir of nature may be immediately absorbed direct by a soul in another living person before finally passing into the reservoir of nature from whence it came, until this last soul carries it with it. Thus he claims that he absorbed his own wife's soul and that she is now with him, the spirit-

ual part, the animal part having gone to the reservoir of nature. It is this animal part, he maintains, that causes sorrow at death.

In the spring of 1893, having a desire to see the World's Fair, and being impressed, as he declares, with a duty toward humanity, he came east and secured an engagement for a California paper to attend the World's Fair, and during the summer he began his agitations in Chicago when the bimetallic convention was held in that city. He was made a delegate by the remainder of the California delegation, and when Ignatius Donnelly made the committee's report, Mr. Browne took exception to the words "gold and silver," being the one "basis" for money, and succeeded in having the word "land" inserted as another good basis for money and came out of the debate with Donnelly with credit.

Browne first met Jacob Selcher Coxey at this convention, and was congratulated by him on his style of speaking. Coxey invited him to his home at Massillon, Ohio, but he did not accept until several months later, or until Mayor Harrison refused to allow him to speak on the lake front. Mr. Coxey then sent for him again, and ever since that time, October 9, 1893, he has directed his time and talents to the furtherance of Mr. Coxey's bills, making his home with his family and treated as his brother.

As this matter gradually developed, he acquainted Mr. Coxey with his religious views, claiming that what he termed the soul part of Christ in him was sufficient to reorganize the soul part in Mr. Coxey. He also explained his reincarnation ideas to Mr. Coxey, who leaned toward theosophy, without comprehension of its theory. Since that time the latter has fully unbound the doctrines of Browne, and professes to believe with him that the movement to Washington means the second coming of Christ. Mr. Browne teaches that by the combination of the reincarnated Christ in them (himself and Coxey), there is sufficient to attract, as by a magnet, the reincarnated hosts through the whole country.

At the time of the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Browne was sent by Mr. Coxey to try and get its indorsement of his good roads plan, and succeeded. He then wrote to Mr. Coxey that, as there were at least one hundred thousand unemployed men in the city of Chicago, he would, if Coxey supplied the means, open headquarters, organize them, and march them to Washington, "a petition with boots on," to demand the passage of his bills.

Mr. Coxey replied that the idea was a good one, but he thought it better to return to Massillon, where they could consult more freely. Browne returned to Massillon and explained the plan to Mr. Coxey, who studied over it for some time, realizing that it might mean bankruptcy for him. He finally decided to make the trial, the proclamation was issued, and Browne given full charge of all details, and he worked out the plan of organization.

CHAPTER XV.

INCIDENTS BY THE WAY.

When a body of men are on the march and living a rough outdoor life, it invariably happens that there is no dearth of interesting incidents. Some are pathetic, some ludicrous, and others again border on the tragic, but scarcely a day passes in the routine of camp life and on the march that there are not occurrences which are well worth mentioning, and which serve in after years to while away many a reminiscent hour for those who have been participants in or witnesses to them. It was so with the march of the army of the Commonweal, which is in itself an unique assemblage of men, many of them characters with peculiarities and individualities, making them well worth study by the close student of human nature. An effort has been made to collect and present in one chapter some of the more notable of the numerous incidents and happenings, all of which serve to illustrate the lights and shadows of camp life.

Many funny things happened daily while the army was on the march. On the route between Addison and Grantsburg, the course of the crusaders lay through a wild, mountainous country, inhabited by an uncouth class of mountaineers, who regarded this intrusion into their section with no little opposition and distrust; at the same time they evinced the most ludicrous fear as to the probable consequences of the army's visit among them. One old fellow, who lived near the town of Addison, on hearing of the approach of the army, barricaded his doors, armed his wife and children with Winchester rifles and heated a barrel of scalding-hot water with which to greet the intruders, should they attempt to invade the sanctity of his home.

It seems that there was, too, among these grizzly, gaunt old denizens of the mountains, a lurking sense of the humorous, for when the Commonwealers were approaching the town of Summerfield, and when it had reached the summit of the hill overlooking

the village, it was met by one of the most grotesque and picturesque delegations that was ever sent out to escort any visiting body of men anywhere. First came a lot of clowns, painted men, who had feathers in their caps; behind these was a huge lumber wagon, filled with a musical aggregation which was dubbed "The Addison Cornet Band." An old mountaineer, named Shirer, who stood six feet two in his stockings, and whose distinguishing characteristic was an immense growth of fiery red whiskers, had hired this weird organization to escort the Commonwealers down the hill and into the city. The old man himself was in the driver's seat, and no schoolboy on a half holiday ever gave evidence of having as good a time as did this old fellow. Going down the hill, the man in the band who blew the trombone, and who was himself a little the worse for liquor, got tangled up with his instrument and fell out of the wagon, rolled down the hill and twisted the horn into a corkscrew. The wagon did not stop to pick him up, and the unfortunate musician was left to make his way into town as best he could.

Among the queer characters that tramped along with Coxey's army over the Alleghany mountains, and shared the joys and hardships of that momentous campaign, was an old man known as Dick Arlington. Dick, it seems, had been a strolling actor in his day, and never grew tired of relating to his fellow Commonwealers, around the blazing camp fires at night, the stories of the many great hits he had made on the histrionic boards. While the army was in camp at Addison, Pa., Dick was strolling around the streets, when suddenly he recognized, in a gentleman who was walking along, an old-time friend and fellow Thespian. He happened to be in town with a strolling combination which was billed for a performance that evening. Dick was delighted, and at his request, was given permission to join the company that night, and really gave a very creditable performance as a character impersonator.

There was a number of old circus men in the army, one notable member of this profession being Tom Hague, of Liverpool, Ohio, who was a tall, thin man, with a very long scrawny neck and a very prominent red nose, and added to his somewhat striking appearance by always wearing an extremely long-tailed coat and a great spreading red necktie. In the pockets of this greatcoat he carried several dozen cabinet photographs of himself and fellow actors in costume. Beside these, his entire worldly posses-

sions consisted of a bottle of tooth powder, one kid glove and an old jackknife, that looked as though it had been through the Mexican war. Hague's sole object in life was to find a mate for that kid glove, and up to the time the army reached Frederick he had as yet failed in his efforts.

At McKeesport occurred an incident that was both pathetic and ludicrous. The camp was at Reynoldstown, a suburb across the river. On the morning that the force arrived there and before and tents or shelter had been provided, the men stood out in the mud, ankle deep, in a cold heavy rain, eating their breakfast of sodden bread and black coffee. Before they had time to finish the morning meal the marshal galloped up and ordered a dress parade. The officers of each command ordered their tattered and bedraggled men into line and there in nasty yellow clay mud, fully ankle deep, and the rain pouring down in torrents, these men drilled for an hour, while the band played "Marching Through Georgia." A few spectators stood under their umbrellas watching the novel spectacle, and it gave them a very different conception from their original ideas concerning the Commonweal men.

"If these poor fellows can stand that," said a bystander, "there is no danger but they will go through to Washington all right."

At Grantsville, Md., one of the crusaders went into the only tavern in the town and spent his last quarter for a good supper. As he walked out of the office of the hotel, his eyes fell on an old dilapidated hair brush, which was lying on the top of the washstand. He quickly appropriated it and chewing his toothpick in an unconcerned manner sauntered leisurely out on the street. He however, miscalculated the man whom he was dealing with. The proprietor had been watching him quietly and he had hardly gained the street before he heard behind him an imperative command to halt. He turned around, and there stood the enraged landlord with a big six-shooter bearing full upon him.

"I didn't take anything but an old hair-brush," stammered the unfortunate Commonwealer, as he gazed into the muzzle of the gun.

"Drop it, then," said the landlord.

He obeyed instantly. The owner came forward, revolver in hand, carefully picked up the piece of stolen property, and ran back to his office, the Commonwealer being glad to escape so easily.

At Frostburg, Samuel J. Schockey, of Chicago, who was known in that city as an eccentric, half-crazy character, attempted suicide. Schockey had joined the army at Salem, and followed it to this point. He wore a rosette of red, white and blue ribbons on his breast and a badge of the same colors on his cap. His attempt at suicide was due to the fact that some miners had gotten hold of him and filled him with moonshine whisky. He became violent, and was taken to the lock-up, where he tried to hang himself in his cell. He was sent to Cumberland and placed in an asylum.

One of the most remarkable figures in the Chicago movement of the Commonweal army, is Miss Helen Tabour, a fourteen year old girl who claims to be the publisher, proprietor, correspondent and reporter for the "Twentieth Century Journal," a paper or magazine, which she issues simultaneously in New York, Chicago and Montreal. Helen appeared at the headquarters almost immediately after they had been established and asked to be allowed to ride the white horse at the head of the column to Washington. She was dressed for both summer and winter. On her feet were tan shoes and brown over-gaiters, and on her gray astrachan jacket was a bunch of fresh spring flowers. The girl was rosy-cheeked and handsome, and the secret of seeking to ally herself with the Commonweal movement and share the adventures and hardships of the long, weary march to Washington, is not understood. No one knows anything of her history, or why, if she have parents, they do not look after her and keep her at home, where one of her years should be kept.

While the Commonweal was at Pittsburg, a man named Schwartz appeared at the department of charities and made a request for medicine. He said that he was very delicate, and needed attendance on account of the long march from Massillon, which had about used him up. Notwithstanding the man's assertions of his condition, it was belied by his unusually healthy appearance. The inspector of the department invited him to take a seat and tell his story. Before doing so Schwartz began to divest himself of coats, and when he had finished, which took him several minutes, he had an even half dozen. With each garment he shed he stopped to tell a story and gave the inspector its history. He was persuaded to leave five of them in the office and was given a ticket which entitled him to the services of a physi-

GROUP MARSHAL MAY WEAR WHITE TAIRES.

PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN,
BUT DEATH TO INTEREST ON BONDS!
THE CITIZEN - COMMONWEAL.

GROUP, COMMUNE, COMMUNITY, CANTON,

NO. LETTER, NAME, SIGN,

BADE OF GROUP MEMBER AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN,
BUT DEATH TO INTEREST ON BONDS!

LEGAL TENDER

FOR THE COMMONWEAL

PRESIDENT'S BADGE - AS COKEY GOOD ROADS ASSOCIATION - U.S. MARSHAL

PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TO MAN,
BUT DEATH TO INTEREST ON BONDS

THE COMMONWEAL.

NUMBER 1

COMMUNE - MARSHAL

THE COMMONWEAL MARSHAL ALL ALIKE EXCEPT IN NUMBER.

COMMON MARSHAL MAY WEAR RED BINDER.

PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN,
BUT DEATH TO INTEREST ON BONDS!

FOR THE COMMON WEAL

COMMUNE

MARSHAL NO.

COMMON MARSHAL BADGES ALL ALIKE EXCEPT NUMBER.

PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN,
BUT DEATH TO INTEREST ON BONDS BY THE COMMON PLAN

COMMON HONORARY BADGE

FOR THE COMMON PLAN

ALL HONORARY BADGES ARE ALIKE EXCEPT IN NUMBER.

CANTON MARSHAL MAY WEAR GRAY TAIRES.

PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN,
BUT DEATH TO INTEREST ON BONDS!

CANTON MARSHAL

NUMBER

CANTON MARSHAL BADGES ALL ALIKE BUT IN NUMBER.

SOMEONE MARSHAL MAY WEAR GREEN TAIRES.

PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN,
BUT DEATH TO INTEREST ON BONDS.

OREGON MARSHAL

NUMBER

OREGON MARSHAL BADGES ALL ALIKE BUT IN NUMBER.

PEACE ON EARTH,
GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN,
BUT DEATH TO INTEREST ON BONDS.

COMMISSARY MARSHAL

NO.

COMMISSARY MARSHAL BADGES ALL ALIKE BUT IN NUMBER.

COMMUNITY MARSHAL MAY WEAR YELLOW TAIRES.

PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN,
BUT DEATH TO INTEREST ON BONDS!

COMMUNITY MARSHAL

NUMBER

COMMUNITY MARSHAL ALL ALIKE BUT IN NUMBER.

A COLLECTION OF BADGES.

cian and medicine; but on reaching the open air Schwartz said he felt so much better, he believed his ill health was caused by wearing too many coats, and so tore up the doctor's ticket, and went on his way rejoicing.

At Pittsburg, and during the parade of the Commonweal in that city, a wild-eyed crank was observed to struggle through the crowd in a frantic endeavor to reach the carriage in which Mr. Coxey was seated. One of the crusaders, who was walking beside the carriage and who saw the fellow, shouted out:

"Don't let that man come here, he wants to stab Mr. Coxey."

Quick as a flash someone replied, "Not a bit of it; he only wants to drop a nickle in the slot."

Hon. J. Jaxon, a quarter-blood Indian, who has long made his residence in Chicago, is one of the unique characters who joined the Coxey movement at Massillon, Ohio, in April. Although a civilized and educated man, and living himself in the metropolis of the West, Jaxon adheres in many respects to the ancient customs of his forefathers. In a room in one of the great newspaper houses of Chicago he has a tepee erected, furnished with skins and rugs, laid on the floor, and which serves the purpose of couch or bed, and here he passes his days among many of the primitive surroundings which characterized the home of his ancestors.

Jaxon once lived in the Saskatchewan region of Canada, and was a lieutenant under Louis Reil, in the Cree rebellion some years ago. During this exciting time he had many thrilling experiences, and many narrow escapes from death. He participated in a winter campaign in a climate where the thermometer often falls forty degrees below zero, and he endured all the hardships attendant upon a march through such a country. Coming to Chicago after the downfall of Reil, he soon took quite a prominent part in local politics, and also became identified with the labor party in that city.

Jaxon early announced his intention of joining the Commonweal, and when he appeared at Massillon he made a request to be allowed to travel in the capacity of scout, and also to do some speech-making on his own account in behalf of the movement. This request was denied him. Accordingly, he resolved to go in advance of the army and to walk the entire distance from Massillon to Washington City, which he did, having but two dollars in his pocket, and arriving at the Capitol City on April 23, while

Coxey's army was still distant some seventy-five miles from its destination. On starting on his long tramp Jaxon purchased a blanket, a small supply of oatmeal, a little salt and a small spirit lamp with which to cook the simple food which was to be his sole diet on his journey. His whole outfit was rolled up in his blanket and fastened, life-preserver fashion, round his body. Jaxon has all the stoical character of his race. Despite his strange appearance and the attention which he attracted, he paid no heed to the curious stares of the passers-by, but went about his business as though he was alone in the wilderness with no human being near him. He is an earnest advocate of the good roads scheme, but takes his own somewhat peculiar methods to further the interests of the plan.

Not the least important feature, and one that has been mentioned but little in the general reports, was the interest taken by the telegraph companies in the movement. A detail of special linemen traveled twenty-four to forty-eight hours in advance of the Commonweal, putting in wires, fitting up tables and keyboards in the hotels and depots adjacent to the camp. At Massillon, on the Saturday night before the start, the dining-room of the Park Hotel was turned into a veritable telegraph office, with fifteen extra sounding boards with as many operators, day and night force, driven to their highest capacity. The number of messages sent out from that point alone ranged from sixty to eighty thousand words each day. In the adjoining towns, where both companies were represented, an active rivalry was kept up in soliciting reports from the various correspondents for their respective offices. The "press gang" played an important part in the march from the start, part of them traveling along with the men, others hiring teams in company and going ahead or following the line of march, always on hand when any incidents of importance occurred. Their presence served as a stimulus to the Commonweal in many ways. Most of the papers represented were liberal in their allowances to their correspondents, and the boys in turn were liberal with the Commonwealers, furnishing nickels, dimes and quarters, cigars and tobacco, and other little luxuries. In fact, oftentimes the crowd would have endured many hardships but for the little delicacies and attentions received from the press contingent. On several occasions, when the correspondents reached the town in advance of the Commonweal, they



LEAVING COUNCIL BLUFFS.



KELLEY'S ARRIVAL AT THE TRANSFER, COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA,

took the responsibility to secure halls and stopping places, hay and provisions, contributing the necessary expense from their own pockets, and otherwise working up a friendly interest among the citizens, which resulted in more extensive donations later in the day.

A little occurrence related elsewhere, which resulted in the organization of the "Argus-Eyed Demons of Hell," had an effect for the time of producing some rather stringent orders from headquarters relative to admitting the press gang within the lines in quest of news, which accounts for the highly colored reports respecting the person and habits of the Chief Marshal. But the boys were not prepared for the prompt recognition of their organization which followed on the part of Mr. Browne, who at once recognized it as part of the Commonweal, and referred to it in his general orders when placing them in line of march. This the boys readily appreciated, for, as Browne remarked in his off-hand, good natured manner, "You can't get ahead of me, boys."

Another attache of the Commonweal, which added much to its appearance, was a skillful barber, who joined the second or third day after the start. At each camp where time permitted, and the weather was not too severe, he was constantly at his post, shaving all comers from the ranks, exacting nothing in the shape of pay. It was a common cause, and he kept the command in quite presentable condition as the result of his handicraft.

The shoemakers and tailors were likewise represented, and in the same manner employing their skill for the benefit of the boys, neither exacting nor receiving pay for their services. At Homestead a master harnessmaker enlisted, not because he was suffering privation, for he was not, being amply provided with funds and clothes, and had sufficient credit to enable him to enjoy any luxury he desired. By his side he led a fine blooded shepherd dog, which shared all the comforts of the camp, and soon became a familiar and popular escort.

There remains to be told many of the most touching and pathetic incidents that enter into this history. The leader of the column, Marshal Schrum, relating the circumstances which attended his start from home, gives the following story: He was a coal miner in Brazil, Iowa, where he and his associates had been eking out a miserable existence, waiting on the bosses to open the mines, but for six months previous they had been permitted to work on an average of one to two days a week, as he says, realiz-

ing as low as \$4.50 per month at times, with which he was to support himself, wife and child. The entire community was in the same condition, and fared no better than himself. A meeting was held and the question of sending a representative to join Coxey's march to Washington was decided, and resulted in himself and another starting out with but a few dollars in their pockets, to reach Massillon as best they could. The conditions at home, as he related, a few weeks'—possibly a month's—supply for his wife and little one to subsist on, and, as the tears came to his eyes, he said he told his wife that he did not know what was coming, nor what fate would befall him, he hoped better things would come from this march; for all he knew, after the little allowance on hand was exhausted, the county would have to stand between the wife and starvation.

At Canton, among the recruits who showed up for enlistment, was a lad of sixteen, who had been doing for himself the past few months, and whose emaciated condition appealed strongly to the humanity of the leaders. He said his home was in Pittsburg, and he was at once received and placed under the immediate charge of the recruiting officers, and thereafter conducted himself in a most orderly manner, winning the confidence of the entire command. At Pittsburg, instead of remaining at home, he was permitted to follow the command, for by this time he had become so attached to the men and camp life, nothing else would content him.

In charge of the panorama wagon out of Massillon was one whose habit of confining his manual efforts to manipulating the reins over his horses' backs and setting up the panorama for evening meetings soon won for him the name of "Weary Iler."

Jasper Johnson, the color bearer, who carried the flag at the front of the column, with his dog, Bunker Hill, who had strayed into the camp at Alliance and at once made himself an attache of the color bearer, and the recruiting officer, Doctor Kirkland, better known as "the Astrologer," became such familiar figures in the daily reports that by the time they reached Pittsburg they could not resist the offer of a local manager to appear as freaks in a dime museum, and during the last twenty-four hours of the Commonwealth in that city the bill-boards were covered with flaming posters announcing their appearance, and that their presence "had been secured at a vast outlay of money." This presented a

new feature to the leaders that was not previously anticipated, which soon resulted in an order coming forth that the freaks would not be reinstated, and that if any others contemplated a like move they should receive the order as an invitation to surrender their badges and leave the ranks at once.

An incident connected with the capture of the engine and train in the Union Pacific transfer yards at Council Bluffs, April 20, was generally overlooked at the time by the newspaper correspondents. Kelly and his men were encamped at Weston, fourteen miles east of the city. The railroad managers and state officials had turned a deaf ear to their entreaties for transportation, and the indignant citizens had risen en masse, as it were, to demand that a train be provided for the army. The demand was in vain, and when a crowd took the matter in its own hands and went to the railroad yards to steal a train, it was headed by two young women of Council Bluffs—Annie Hooten and Edna Harper. They led the attack, which resulted in the capture of the engine, and went with the train to Weston, where they offered it to General Kelly. How Kelly refused the offer has already been told. Warrants were obtained for the arrest of the girls, but they escaped, and afterward joined the army on its trip across the state of Iowa. They declared their intention of accompanying the army to Washington, and a suitable conveyance was obtained for them. They were present at the big public gathering held in the opera house at Atlantic, Iowa, on the evening of April 25, and were induced by the citizens to get upon the stage and tell the story of how they captured the engine. They pushed their way to the stage, where their courage seemed to forsake them, but finally Annie Hooten, with the other standing beside her, said, in an abashed way: "You want to know how we stole the engine. Well, I will tell you how we stole the engine, though I never stood up before an audience before. We heard there were sick men at the camp at Chautauqua and we wanted to help them. We were excited and did not know what to do, and then we stole the engine and ran it down to the camp and had the sick men put aboard and hauled them back to the city. That is the way we stole the engine. We did not know it was wrong then, but somebody afterward told us it was wrong, so we are sorry we did anything wrong. That's how it was. We wish to thank the citizens of Atlantic for receiving the army so kindly, for you must know

we consider ourselves part of the army, as we are going through to Washington with it." This was received with rapturous applause and the meeting ended.

CHAPTER XVI.

KELLY'S INDUSTRIAL ARMY.

Soon after the industrial movement was started by Coxey, it was decided to send a delegation from the Pacific slope, where the suffering was perhaps more marked than in any other section of the country, and where an intense sympathy with the aims and purposes of the great uprising was early manifested. A leader was wanted, and the man who stepped into the breach was one whose personal appearance was no more in his favor than was Napoleon's or Grant's, or that of other great leaders who have taken conspicuous places in the world's history.

Charles T. Kelly is a pleasant-faced, determined-looking, undersized man, with an almost feminine gentleness of speech, but with a degree of firmness, tact and common sense that give him a powerful influence. Aside from these qualities, there is a personal magnetism about him that gives him a strong hold on the men under his command and enables him to maintain order and discipline with comparatively little effort. He is a printer by trade, and was born in Hartford, Conn., November 8, 1861, of American parentage. He received a common-school education, but left home early, and reached Chicago in 1877, where he was a newsboy for more than a year, living in the Newsboys' Home. Later he went to St. Louis, where he became an expert job printer and designer. He was married April 30, 1888, and lived for a long time in Texas, where, as proofreader in a law publishing house, he acquired a fair knowledge of common law. He has worked on newspapers in many of the principal cities of the country, and has always been an ardent advocate of labor interests and organized labor. Largely through his own efforts, he has acquired an unusually good education. He drifted about the western part of the country for a time, but finally settled down in San Francisco, some years ago, to work at his trade. He at once became prominent in labor circles in that city. He is a strict union man, tem-

perate in his habits, generous to a fault, and has always been willing to divide with a comrade in need. On the coast his strong personality gave him prestige which placed him at the head of the labor organizations to which he belonged, and his common-sense won for him the respect of his fellow workers.

Under such leadership it is not surprising that the Pacific coast delegation was quickly raised, and started eastward to join the Commonwealth army. Col. William Baker organized the first coast contingent, April 2, 1894, in San Francisco, but through discouraging embarrassments and obstacles failed to progress in the formation of an army. Gen. Kelly became the commanding officer April 5, and reorganized the division. It was composed entirely of men out of employment, and was fully six hundred strong, when application was made to Mayor Ellert for assistance in getting across the bay at Oakland, from which point transportation was to be secured on freight trains to the East. The mayor contributed twenty-five dollars, and the regiment was sent over to Oakland. Here there was a delay, owing to a misunderstanding with the railroad authorities. False reports were circulated as to the character of the men comprising the army, and Mayor Pardee issued orders to the chief of police that the "mob" must be driven out of Oakland by force. The sheriff and the militia were called upon to aid in this undertaking, and at 2 o'clock on the morning of April 6th a general alarm was sounded by the fire bells, calling out about 1,200 citizens, who were sworn in as deputy sheriffs and armed. These, with the militia and police, marched with a great flourish to the tabernacle in which Kelly and his followers had obtained temporary shelter, and where they were peacefully sleeping.

The army was ordered to move out of town. The men refused, and for a time the situation was critical. Consultations were held on both sides, and finally the police resorted to the expedient of arresting Kelly and several of his men. They soon saw that this was a mistake, however, and the prisoners were released. Then Kelly made a speech to his followers, counseling moderation, reminding them that theirs was a mission of peace, and asking them to comply with the demands of the people of Oakland. In the mean time arrangements had been made with the Southern Pacific for eight box cars. Acting under the order of their leader, the industrials agreed to submit peacefully. They formed a line,

and, escorted by two hundred armed police and citizens, marched to the railway station, where they entered the box cars and departed for the East. At Sacramento they were joined by 350 more men.

Thus the journey to Washington was begun. When the governor of Utah learned that the Southern Pacific road was bringing several hundred unemployed men into that territory he became greatly alarmed and took immediate steps to check the movement. With a portion of the Utah militia he hastened to Ogden, arriving there early on the morning of April 8, and after a consultation with the city and railroad officials, informed Superintendent Knapp, of the Southern Pacific, that he must not bring the so-called industrial army into the territory; that they could not stay at Ogden or any other point within the territory, and unless arrangements could be made to send them East they must be returned to the coast. Great preparations were made to enforce Governor West's order. A Gatling gun was planted in the public square, and the whole military force was placed under command of Lieutenant Lassiter, of the Sixteenth United States infantry. The industrials had been halted several miles west of the Utah line pending arrangements which the Southern Pacific was trying to make with the Union Pacific for transportation East.

Late in the afternoon the Union Pacific gave its ultimatum—that it would not carry the men at less than full rates. The Southern Pacific then ordered its train brought into Ogden, in defiance of the governor's protest. Governor West expressed himself in strong terms to the superintendent of the road, characterizing the whole matter as a conspiracy between the Southern Pacific and the state of California. But the railroad landed its load of human freight in Ogden, and the army went into camp on the property of the Southern Pacific Company. By this time its numbers had swelled to 1,200, including the recruits at Ogden, and although beset by hardships, which promised to increase rapidly from this time forward, there was no disposition to turn back or disband. On the contrary, the determination to reach Washington seemed to grow stronger in every breast as the obstacles multiplied. The Southern Pacific had carried them to the end of its line; the Union Pacific refused to take them further without the payment of the regular passenger rates, and the territorial authorities were appealing to the courts for power to forcibly drive them out of Utah.

But they had the sympathy and good will of the people, and although there was much suffering from exposure they were at least supplied with provisions. The officials of the territory obtained an order of the court permitting them to use force in putting the army out of the territory, and on April 11, the order of the court was enforced. The men would have been taken back to California by the Southern Pacific, but by a practically unanimous vote they declined to retrace their steps. They submitted quietly and without the least show of resistance to the ejection. At 2 o'clock, on the date named, they prepared to abandon the camp on Weber river, which they had occupied since their arrival in Ogden. There was but little to do in the way of packing. A large supply of blankets and clothing had been donated by the citizens, and the army carried provisions enough to last several days. In sharp contrast to the attitude of Governor West, of Utah, was the telegram from Governor Waite, of Colorado, received by Kelly before the departure from Ogden:

"Any and all citizens of the United States have the right of passage through Colorado."

Unfortunately, no opportunity was afforded of enjoying the hospitality of the friendly state. Shortly after 4 o'clock that afternoon the industrial army marched out of the city under an escort of cavalry, accepting the hardships in store for them from a continuation of the journey eastward rather than ride back to California in comfortable cars. Eastward they were determined to go, though it might be on foot for hundreds and hundreds of miles. It was a pathetic sight, and many witnesses were moved to tears as the pilgrims patiently submitted to the power of the law and wearily trudged away. C. P. Huntington, president of the Southern Pacific Company, in a telegram to Governor West, said of the men:

"I am certain their condition will be improved when they get into the large field of labor east of the Mississippi River. As a matter of common humanity, we should help them on their way. Our company can do nothing, as it is not organized for charity, but for business, but I personally will give \$100 toward helping them."

Eight miles out of Ogden, on the plains of Utah, the army encamped for the night. But it was only for a few hours. It was pretty generally understood, not only by the public, but by the railroad officials as well, that an attempt would be made to cap-

ture a train, and so great was the sympathy with the army that there was little, if any, disposition to resist such an attempt. At 12 o'clock that night the coveted opportunity was offered. The army broke camp and captured a Union Pacific freight train made up of box cars en route to the mines of Wyoming. General Kelly at once assumed command of the train. The engineer and fireman obeyed his orders. They had previously had instructions from the superintendent to do so, should one of the trains on this division of the road be captured by the industrial legion, and there is little doubt that the train was purposely thrown in Kelly's way.

The flight to the East was then resumed in earnest. The army breakfasted at Evanston, Wyoming, on the morning of the 12th, and at Red Buttes, the first station east of Laramie, on the morning of the 13th. This exhausted the supply of provisions brought from Ogden, but there was no danger of starvation, for at almost every station donations of food were offered, and recruits were taken on the train at various points. At Cheyenne fifteen hundred loaves of bread and three beeves were given to the excursionists. The men wanted to go to Denver, but the Union Pacific officials decided to switch the train at Cheyenne and run straight through to Sidney, Neb. From Willow Island, Neb., on the 14th, General Kelly sent the following telegram to Omaha:

"WILLOW ISLAND, NEB., April 14.—Mayor and City Council, Omaha: We need your assistance; need food and shelter. If in your power, it will kindly be accepted.

UNITED STATES INDUSTRIAL ARMY.

Mayor Bemis, of Omaha, replied to this that the request would be granted. It was stipulated, however, that the men should not leave the train, but should continue their journey eastward across the river, an arrangement that was entirely satisfactory to General Kelly, who was anxious to get as far toward the rising sun as possible.

At 6 o'clock on the morning of April 15, the army reached the confines of Omaha. The train, which was decorated with American flags and other patriotic emblems, halted on a side-track just inside the city limits, where it was met by Chief of Police Seavey and a platoon of officers and two or three thousand citizens. It had been

the intention to disembark the army there in the woods and have breakfast, but Chief Seavey had asked General Kelly to keep his men on the cars, and they were kept there. The authorities had provided two thousand five hundred loaves of bread and two thousand pounds of cooked beef, while an Omaha business firm had given one thousand pies. All this provender was in two box cars, which were attached to the Kelly train, and then the procession moved on.

The train rolled across the bridge and reached Council Bluffs at 9 o'clock. When it pulled into the station a great cheer went up from the throats of eight thousand citizens who had assembled to welcome the army. The militia was there, too, but it found nothing to do. Blankets and baggage were tumbled out of the cars in which the pilgrims had traveled during the last five days, and a camp was pitched on the ground, one hundred yards from the depot. Breakfast was soon under way, and city hydrants were opened and faces washed with a vigorous haste that denoted the zest and relish of cold water. After breakfast there began a reception which lasted well into the evening. Fully twenty thousand people visited the camp and mingled with the soldiers. Kelly's genius for organization was never better shown. The discipline of the army was as perfect as that of well-drilled regulars. Much of this was due to the character of the troops, who were mainly intelligent mechanics, with a liberal sprinkling of professional men. Each company had its officers, similar to those of an army. At meal-time the proper officer of each company made a requisition on the commissary for the proper allotment of food for the men in his company. This was divided into sections by officers, and then, as the roster of the company was called, each man stepped forward at the call of his name and received his rations.

Several thousand pounds of meat and a couple of wagons loaded down with bread were hauled into the camp by the generous citizens, and during the afternoon a public meeting was held to listen to addresses by General Kelly and a number of local labor leaders. Kelly assured the people that his intentions were peaceable, and that his army was made up of law-abiding and self-supporting citizens of the United States, who had no intention of making trouble for any one. He did not understand, therefore, why the Iowa militia had been called out. He and his men,

he said, were going to Washington, where they would urge upon Congress the necessity of making some sort of preparation for taking care of the unemployed.

CHAPTER XVII.

EXPERIENCE OF THE KELLY ARMY IN IOWA

When Kelly's industrial army encamped on Iowa soil, after having accomplished two thousand miles of the journey from the Pacific coast to Washington, it was about fifteen hundred strong, including the recruits from Omaha and Council Bluffs. The difficulties that had been met and overcome were slight in comparison with those by which the army was confronted on the east bank of the Missouri River. Here the hostility of the state authorities and the railroad companies effectually blocked the progress of the army for a time.

Governor Jackson, of Iowa, in preparing to meet Kelly and his followers, seems to have proceeded on the assumption that they were a mob of lawless vagabonds. In company with his attorney-general and a number of other prominent lawyers he hastened to Council Bluffs on April 14, apparently much alarmed by the information that the invaders would probably arrive there that evening. Before leaving Des Moines he ordered ten companies of militia to be held in readiness to meet any emergency that might arise, and to preserve the peace and dignity of the state. After arriving at Council Bluffs conferences were held with the city and county officers, railroad attorneys and others, and in the evening Governor Jackson spoke briefly to the crowd assembled. He said the state would render all needed assistance to the local authorities to prevent the rights of an Iowa citizen from being interfered with, and in fulfillment of this promise five companies of militia were concentrated at Council Bluffs. The governor's course was criticised by many, especially after the arrival of Kelly's peaceful army on the following day. The governor justified his action by saying that he had received many telegrams asking for protection, and had finally concluded the troops would be absolutely necessary to preserve order.

It was soon understood, not only in Council Bluffs but through-

out the state of Iowa, that Kelly's command was a well-organized body of law-abiding and intelligent men endeavoring to reach Washington on a peaceful and most important mission. Kelly had taken pains to see that the army did not contain the tramp element. During the trip across the continent, whenever a tramp was found among the men, he had immediately ordered his aids to eject him from the train. Six men were discovered to be tramps in the run between Lexington and Kearney, and were put off the cars on arrival at the latter point. From the very first the commander had insisted upon the following obligations being administered to all candidates for admission to the army:

"I have sworn to support the Constitution of the United States and the industrial army; to obey all lawful orders that may be said or handed to me by those ordered to do so; to render support and assistance to all officers and comrades of the army; to never violate any laws of the United States or such State or Territory in which I may be, or abet any riotous conduct; to respect the rights of property and law and order; to never act in any manner to bring discredit upon the Industrial Army of the United States."

Every man signing this obligation was numbered, and his name and occupation, the kind of hat he wore, his weight, height and waist and chest measurement were made matters of record. He was under regulations similar to those of the United States soldiers. When the army entered Iowa it filled a train of twenty-seven box cars. The companies of the regiment which composed the army were designated by letters of the alphabet. Each company was composed of fifty men, and each man was provided with enlistment papers, which he was required to show after he had turned into his bunk at night. There was a commissary department and a health and drug department, and, what was more surprising than anything else to the good people of Iowa, the regiment had its chaplain in the person of Mr. Parsonage, a man of education, who addressed a hundred orphans at the Christian Home on the day of his arrival in Council Bluffs.

The attitude of the railroads running east from the Missouri river was the hardest blow the army had received since leaving San Francisco, and in the end was the cause of much suffering. The officials of these roads agreed unanimously to refuse the men transportation eastward, although Kelly was given to understand from other quarters that transportation would be provided

to Chicago. On the morning of the 16th he and his aids had a consultation with Sheriff Hazen, of Pottawattamie county, and he agreed to move his troops away to Park Mills, four miles east of Council Bluffs, on the line of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul and the Rock Island roads. The army moved that afternoon, and in the evening was established in the new camp on the Chautauqua grounds at Park Mills. Immediately the railroad companies took precautions to prevent the capture of their trains at that point. This was done by instructing their employes to run all trains through at full speed. Sheriff Hazen was himself greatly astonished at this, for he had assurances from Governor Jackson that a train would be in waiting at Park Mills to carry the army on its way. It was on that assurance that Kelly had consented to move the army, but there was no train there, and none was provided later.

The next day was a stormy one, and the hardships of camp life were increased by rain, hail and a lack of shelter. The men were drenched to the skin. In addition to the two companies of militia that had followed the army to its new camp, four more companies were sent to the spot and were sheltered in the great Chautauqua pavilion. The railroad track in the vicinity was patrolled by militiamen, and the depot closely guarded. During the day General Kelly visited Omaha, with some of his aids, and secured an abundance of provisions, one firm alone contributing four thousand pounds. Two wagon loads of provisions were also obtained at Council Bluffs. Mayor Bemis, of Omaha, issued the following proclamation:

To All Citizens of Omaha: I will receive subscriptions at my office for the purpose of providing supplies for the Commonweal Army, now encamped near Council Bluffs. There are about sixteen hundred men of all trades and professions in this army, the large majority of whom I believe to be well deserving, and our citizens should join in keeping these men from starving at our very doors.

GEORGE P. BEMIS, Mayor.

Mayor Bemis expressed himself forcibly as to the manner in which the army had been treated by the Council Bluffs officers and the state authorities of Iowa.

The action of the former in refusing food and shelter he characterized as less than human, and said that as they had failed to do their duty he hoped that Omaha, though not in duty bound to

do so, would come to the rescue. The men, he declared, were neither tramps nor criminals, but simply unfortunate fellow-beings deserving of sympathy and assistance.

Mayor Bemis also scored the state authorities and railroads of Iowa for what he said was their shameful treatment of the army. The expense incurred by the state at the behest of the railroad and other corporations to protect property from raids by law-abiding and honest men would, he said, have fed the men and carried them to Chicago.

The night of the 17th was a terrible one for the industrial legion. Arrangements had been made for the men to camp in the Chautauqua amphitheater, but the well-fed and well-clothed militia companies claimed the first right to that shelter, and the unfortunate pilgrims were forced to spend the night in a sea of mud and slush. They accepted the refusal of the state troops to let them sleep under a roof with good grace, and made the best of a deplorable situation. Early the next morning hand-bills were scattered through Council Bluffs, calling for a mass-meeting of the citizens to devise some means to help General Kelly and his army out of the city. At 2 o'clock the opera house was packed and many speeches were made. Ex-Congressman Pusey, one of the most influential citizens and the wealthiest banker of the city, made a telling speech in sympathy with the Industrial Army, and a committee was appointed to solicit subscriptions with the view of securing transportation for the commonwealers to Chicago. The citizens were heartily in sympathy with the army.

In the afternoon Mayor Bemis of Omaha received the following, which was sent directly to General Kelly:

"CHICAGO, ILL., April 18.—*Mayor Bemis.* A committee of citizens will receive the industrial army in this city. Cannot you get the army to Chicago?
Committee."

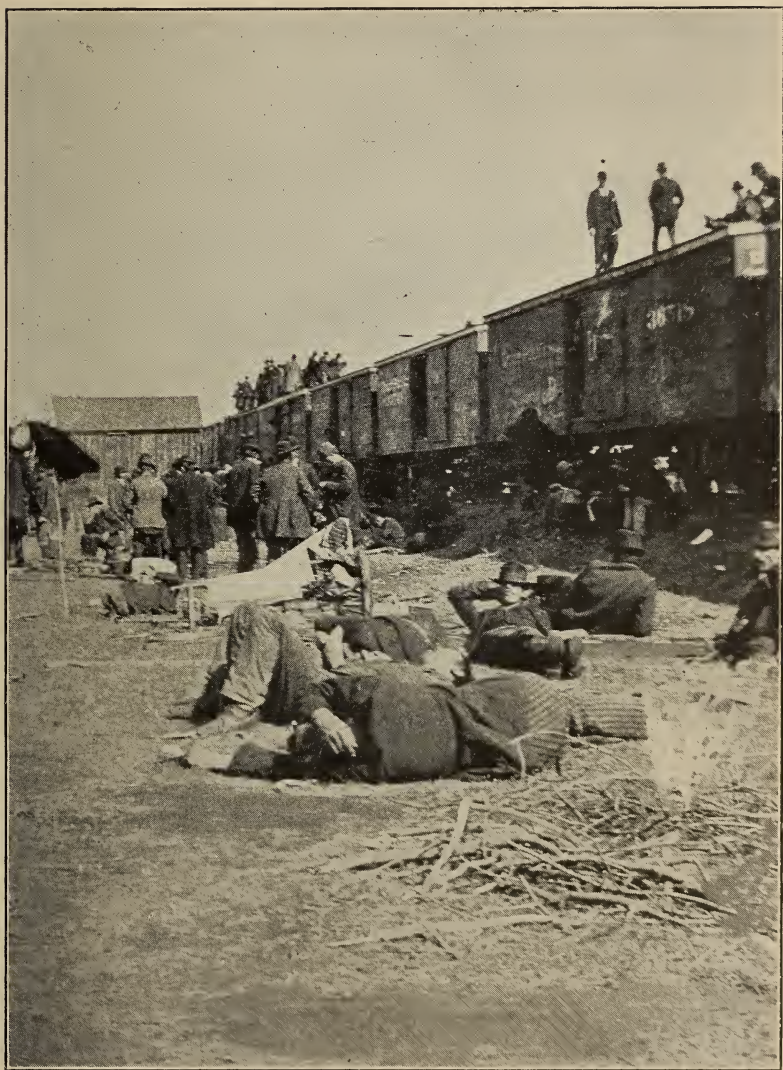
The general called his men to order, and after he had read the dispatch the woods resounded with cheer after cheer, and they were almost frantic with joy.

During the day the militia was withdrawn from the camp, and martial law came to an end. Governor Jackson, Sheriff Hazen and the citizens' committee held a conference, the result of which was that the sheriff washed his hands of the whole affair, and the governor relieved the State troops from duty at the Commonweal

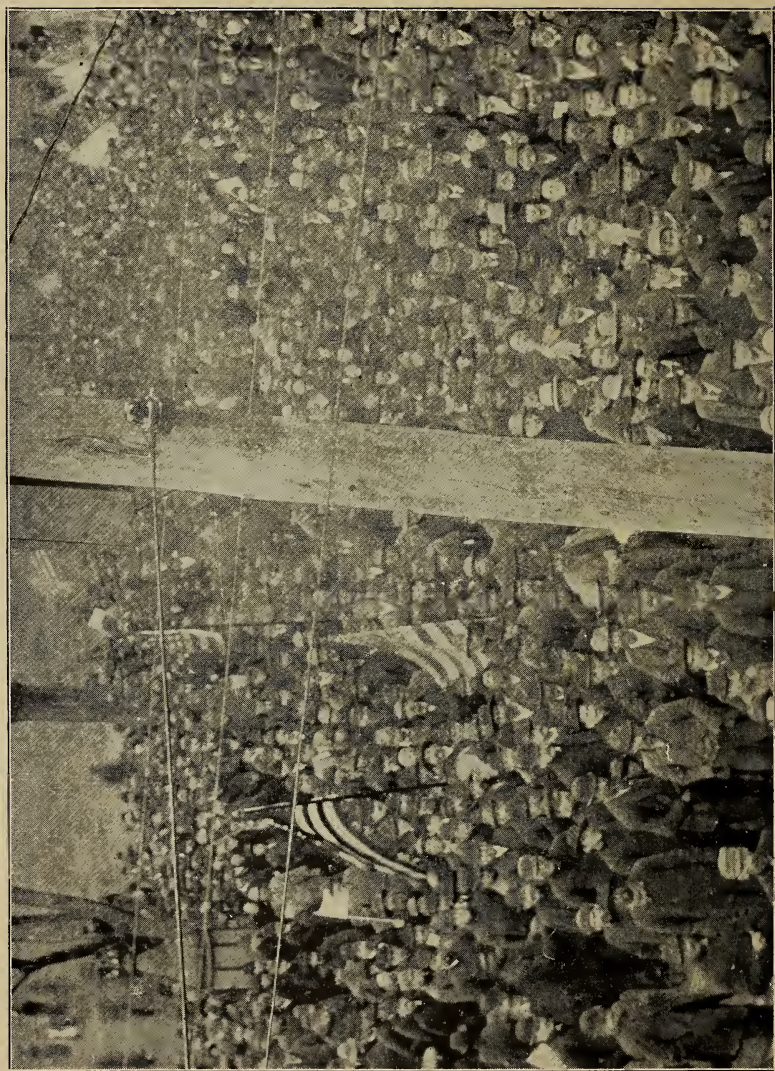
camp. Thousands of sight-seers and well-wishers visited the army, and the contributions for the day amounted to about three hundred dollars, in addition to food and clothing. The Chautauqua amphitheater was now left to the undisputed possession of the industrial soldiers, and they were grateful for its shelter.

In the evening a mass-meeting of workingmen was held in Jefferson Square, Omaha, and General Kelly accepted an invitation to deliver an address. Ten thousand people assembled, most of them of the working class, and the excitement ran high. General Kelly made a very temperate speech, describing the movement of his army prior to reaching Omaha, and explaining its objects. Other speakers were not so temperate. Governor Jackson, of Iowa, was a target for the shafts of satirical comment, as were also the railroad officers, the Wall street crowd and the Congress of the United States. Resolutions were adopted denouncing the railroad companies, and pledging all present to boycott any merchant who patronized any road that refused to haul the Commonwealth army. Several hundred dollars were raised for the Kelly movement. Similar meetings were held in Council Bluffs, and the indignation against the railroads everywhere found vent in impassioned speeches and sledge-hammer resolutions.

Early on the morning of Thursday, the 19th, General Kelly called his aids about him and held a brief council. He said he had been notified by the authorities of the county that he must move on, and he had promised to do so today. He had hoped that some means of transportation might be secured, but the railroad managers were inexorable, and they must at least commence the journey to Chicago on foot. The march, he said, would begin as soon after breakfast as the preparations could be completed. Orders were given for extra rations for the men, and a hearty breakfast was partaken of. At 10 o'clock Kelly ordered the captains of the various companies to prepare their commands for the march. At 11 o'clock the men were in line, and the army started, with Colonel Baker at the head of the column. Fourteen wagons, furnished by the citizens' committee of Council Bluffs, followed in the wake of the troops, carrying the provisions and the sick men, of which there were several. Before the departure from camp Chautauqua two hundred new recruits had arrived from the west. They constituted General Gorman's battalion, which had come from Denver to Council Bluffs in a refrigerator car on the



THE WAIT AT THE TRANSFER, COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA.



OMAHA TO THE RESCUE.

Union Pacific road. They were greeted with cheers by the men in camp.

The start eastward was made in a driving rainstorm, and many citizens who witnessed the departure of the army tried to persuade Kelly to remain another day, but he insisted upon going. After a walk of four miles through the mud, the army arrived at Weston, a small station on the Rock Island and the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul roads, nine miles from Council Bluffs, reaching that place shortly after 2 o'clock in the afternoon. On the line of march, farmers and their families, for miles around, came to view the army. Upon the arrival of the column at Weston, the village postmaster, Mr. Fields, tendered the use of his hall for the men to sleep in, but it would not accommodate one-fifth of the number. Farmers from the neighborhood visited the commander during the afternoon and offered him the use of their barns for sleeping quarters. The offer was gladly accepted, and three companies, under command of their captains, were sent to occupy the barns. The rest of the men found temporary shelter in neighboring sheds and corncribs.

In the meantime, the indignation of sympathetic citizens in Council Bluffs and Omaha was kindled afresh by the reported utterances of a prominent attorney of the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad Company. In a newspaper interview this attorney was quoted as saying, with reference to Kelly and his followers:

"If these tramps and bums try to capture one of our trains there will be trouble. Should they succeed in getting possession of a train we would ditch it regardless of consequences. We will not carry these vagabonds for love or money, or be forced to by their capturing our rolling stock. In the eyes of the law they are a band of beggars, who are organized for an unlawful purpose and to prey on the people, who are compelled to feed them and move them on to the next station. Why, if we would carry this crowd over the Iowa railways, we would be compelled to carry ten thousand more idlers just like them. They would swamp our roads, and we could do nothing but a charity business, and this we don't intend to do. Our roads were not built for charitable purposes."

This same man admitted that Governor Jackson had called out the militia on the request of the Chicago & Northwestern Company. Revelations of this kind intensified the bitter feeling against the corporations and their responsible officers. Another

mass-meeting of Omaha citizens was held in Jefferson Square in the evening. Ringing speeches were made, and it was proposed that ten thousand Omaha men march over to Council Bluffs on the following day and demand of the railroad companies that transportation be furnished General Kelly and his army. A committee was appointed to prepare a plan of action on the line of this suggestion.

Sheriff Hazen followed the industrial army to Weston and posted three deputies on guard to protect railroad property. A party of railroad officials also followed it in a special car, and when the bedraggled marchers camped near the Weston station a crusty superintendent ordered them off the premises. But the men remained, and prepared and ate their supper before seeking shelter for the night. The railway people had taken the precaution to put seals on all empty cars that were to pass that way, thus making it a serious offense in case the cars should be molested.

CHAPTER XVIII.

UNLAWFUL AID REFUSED BY KELLY.

With the dawning of the next day, April 20, began a series of exciting events, which will be long remembered by the people of Omaha, Council Bluffs and the country immediately round about those cities. There were early meetings at various places and hasty preparations for action. In Omaha there was a gathering of determined men, and long before the morning was spent three thousand laboring men, with banners flying, began the march for the camp of General Kelly, at Weston, Ia. At 9 o'clock the signal agreed upon at the Jefferson Square meeting on the previous evening—the ringing of church bells and the blowing of whistles—was given, announcing that Kelly and his followers were still at Weston, unable to secure a train for the East. Inside of five minutes a thousand men had gathered at Jefferson Square, and these were quickly organized into companies with a captain for each company. The column was put in motion, and recruits were received at every corner, until the crowd was swelled to the dimensions of an army by the time it had reached the bridge leading across the Missouri to Council Bluffs. Numerous flags were carried, and the demonstration had the appearance of a holiday parade. Entering Council Bluffs, the pageant rapidly increased in size, until there were fully six thousand people in line. An escort of Council Bluffs workingmen, with fife and drum, conducted the procession to Bayless Park, where the men lined up along the sides of the square and waited for some communication from the committee of prominent citizens that had preceded them from Omaha.

Meanwhile General Kelly was busy. At an early hour he was in Omaha, seated in the private car of General Manager St. John, of the Rock Island road, engaged in an animated conversation with that official. Mr. St. John said, in response to a request for a train, that he was not in a position to grant it, even should he desire to do so, as the matter was now wholly in the hands of the presidents of the Iowa trunk lines, and no one road could grant a request for a train unless the presidents of all the other lines agreed.

General Kelly then left the car and called on other friends for advice.

An hour later he crossed over to Council Bluffs with the intention of catching a train for Weston, being desirous of getting out of the city before the outpouring from Omaha, as he was in no wise responsible for the demonstration, and did not want to be even a party to it. He missed the train, and while waiting for a saddle-horse his presence was learned by Governor Jackson, who sent for him for the purpose of imparting some information which he thought would be of interest. Kelly hurried over to the governor's headquarters, where were gathered several citizens, besides the attorney-general.

The interview was a prolonged one, or rather it was mostly a monologue, for Governor Jackson took occasion to review at length and in detail all the actions he had taken, the purport being that he had taken every means possible to get the army on its way and that the state authorities had not laid a straw of detention in its way. His correspondence with railway officials had resulted in nothing, so far as the Northwestern, Milwaukee & St. Paul, and the Burlington were concerned, they refusing to do anything. The Rock Island at first suggested that they might take half the army to Davenport if the St. Paul would take the other half to the river, the railways to be paid a fair rate, as might seem just to the governor. The governor had agreed to recompense the roads, although there was no authority for him to put his hand into the state treasury for that purpose.

This proposition to take the men across the state had been recalled later, and now the railways would do nothing but transport them as other passengers at full rates. He notified Kelly that the citizens of Council Bluffs had arranged to furnish boats to take the army to Kansas City and to provide them with shelter and ample provisions while the preparations for this trip were being made. Kelly replied that he preferred to go East, but he would take the proposition to his camp, let the boys decide, and he would wire back his answer. He then hurried away, just in time to escape the committee from Omaha which called on the governor.

While the committees were at work in Council Bluffs, other committees were besieging the telegraph offices with messages

to the presidents of the Iowa trunk lines. At 11 o'clock the following was sent out:

"COUNCIL BLUFFS, Iowa, April 20.—To Marvin Hughitt, President Chicago & Northwestern railway; R. R. Cable, President Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific; Roswell Miller, President Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railway, Chicago: Kelly's army is at Weston exposed to the elements, with provisions for two days; are suffering badly, but patient and united in their determination to go through. Have thus far committed no trespass whatever; are orderly, obedient to all commands of their leader, and are being furnished with provisions and transportation for the same by the charity of the people of Iowa. We have thrown the responsibility upon our state authorities for the great gravity of the situation. Can you not, gentlemen, for the great corporations you represent, assume to do in the interests of humanity what you would not be justified in doing except in this great emergency?"

This message was signed by Messrs. "W. H. M. Pusey, Chairman; Finley Burke, Frank Trimble, J. C. Lemon, N. H. Inman, A. T. Flickinger, Judge J. E. F. McGee, E. A. Wickham, of the Citizens' Committee; H. E. Deemer, Judge District Court; Charles M. Harl, T. S. Campbell, clerk of court; John P. Morgan, County Attorney; John B. Eno & Co., Greenweg & Schoentgen, John Boisssem, president Council Bluffs Savings Bank, and fifty thousand other citizens."

This was at once followed by another, of which the following is a copy:

"To Roswell Miller, R. R. Cable, Marvin Hughitt, Chicago: From the government building we are reviewing a procession of 30,000 citizens of Omaha. We understand that they have come over to demand with force of numbers that something be done to provide transportation for Kelley's army. The citizens are now headed towards the Milwaukee tracks. If you were here you would realize that something should be done at once. We appeal to you to help relieve this community from the impending danger that threatens and relieve the sufferings of these men which have aroused these communities.

"H. E. DEEMER, Judge District Court.

"J. E. F. MCGEE, Judge Supreme Court.

"J. J. STEDMAN, Clerk Federal Court.

"THOMAS BOWMAN, Postmaster."

The assertion made in this telegram was no exaggeration. During the afternoon immense delegations from Omaha, some of them marching with banners, crossed the bridge and joined the ranks of those who had preceded them. Among them was a large detachment from the Union Pacific shops. The streets of Council Bluffs by this time were black with a yelling, cheering crowd, and the determination to provide Kelly and his army with transportation, despite all opposition, was so apparent as to greatly alarm the state, county and municipal officers, who were nervously watching the course of events. Flags were fluttering from numberless windows, and on almost every corner crowds were gathered to listen to the orations of local speakers. In addition to these were many meetings and conferences in private offices and business houses. One, held in the office of Flickinger Brothers, adopted the following resolutions, a copy of which were sent to Judge Hubbard, attorney for the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad Company:

"WHEREAS, Judge N. M. Hubbard having publicly, through the daily press, assumed the responsibility of calling the National Guard to this city for the declared purpose of blocking the movements of what is known as the 'Industrial Army,' under command of General Kelly; and

"WHEREAS, He has been reported by the press as saying that if the army captured a Chicago & Northwestern train, 'the train would be ditched, let the consequences be what they may;' therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, By the citizens of Council Bluffs, in mass meeting assembled, that the unfortunate and perilous situation now existing in this city is largely due to the bad judgment and ill-timed expressions and actions of Judge Hubbard, and that in the interests of harmony and to restore peace and quiet in the community it is desirable that Judge Hubbard be requested by the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad Company to leave this city at once, and that a copy of these resolutions be sent to Marvin Hughitt, president of the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad, and to the Associated Press. Be it further

"*Resolved*, That we have faith and confidence in the humanity and charity of the managers of the different railroads leading out of Council Bluffs, and that they have been badly advised."

It was 3 o'clock before replies were received to the messages

to the railway presidents. In every case the requests were emphatically denied, and then the conference between the citizens' committee and the railroad officials ended. The information that no train would be furnished was conveyed to the waiting thousands who had congregated about the Courthouse to await the coming of Chairman Tichenor, of the committee. Reaching the grounds, he elbowed his way through the crowd and ascended the Courthouse steps. When he announced the result of the conference it was greeted with howls, jeers and hisses. After making a short address, he said the committee had decided to wait until 4 o'clock, at which hour, if no train was furnished, one would be taken and run out to Kelly's camp, where his men would be loaded on and started on their eastward journey. He spoke in strong terms against violence, and cautioned the men against any destruction of property. As soon as the meeting in the Courthouse square adjourned, led by a band and thousands of flags, the men formed in line and marched to Bayliss Park.

At 4 o'clock word came that the railroad officials would remain firm, and that no train would be furnished. The crowd then separated, a portion of it going to the Union Pacific transfer yards, where an engine was soon captured and manned. This part of the programme was carried out with a quiet determination that brooked no interference. Practical men were placed in charge of the engine and they succeeded in making up a train of eleven freight cars. Then they ran the gauntlet through the yards, and the train sped away over the Rock Island track to the camp at Weston.

The news that a train was coming reached the men in the camp and aroused them to intense excitement, but any premature demonstration was stopped by Kelly. It was seen that he did not approve of this method of securing transportation, and when the "special" steamed into Weston after its run of fourteen miles from Council Bluffs, which was made in the same number of minutes, it was received in silence. The general called his leaders about him and explained that the law must not be violated and that the Commonwealers could not afford to be regarded as a lawless mob. He said if the impression became general through the country that they failed to regard the property rights of others it would arouse continuous and perhaps armed opposition to their progress.

It was finally decided in this open meeting that the army would not use the train to move forward. There were several expressions of dissent at this, but the general showed his command over the men by refusing to permit them to even sleep in the cars.

The next move of the leader of the industrials was to make another attempt to come to terms with the Rock Island people to move the men and train forward. An urgent message was sent to President Cable at Chicago asking him to permit the use of his road. For answer came the one word "No." Then Kelly and his leaders held another council, and it was decided to put the sick on board the train and send them back to Council Bluffs, where they could receive attendance.

The twenty men who were in a dangerous condition owing to their exposure were carried from the sheds and barns in which they had been housed and at 9:59 the train with the sick aboard backed out of Weston and started for Council Bluffs, which it reached forty minutes later.

With the departure of the train Kelly found himself and followers facing a gloomy situation. The commander had voluntarily refused the only chance offered him to transport the army free. The men were loyal to him, however, and when at 11:30 o'clock he called them together and read a brief appeal which he had prepared for publication in the *Omaha Bee*, he was repeatedly cheered. The appeal was as follows:

"Desiring to move eastward as fast as possible, and desiring also to abide by the laws of the land, I am forced to ask, on behalf of the industrial army, for aid in obtaining horses and wagons sufficient to help us across the country, all other means of locomotion having been denied us, save those of nature. I will make this my appeal to the citizens of Iowa and Nebraska. Will you assist us in obtaining this aid? GEN. CHARLES T. KELLY."

No relief came the next day, and the army remained in camp at Weston. This was in accordance with the advice of sympathizers who still hoped to find a way of procuring for Kelly the aid he so much needed. The general announced, however, that unless a train was provided in the mean time the army would resume its march eastward on the following morning, which would be Sunday. All day business was practically at a standstill in Omaha and Council Bluffs, and everywhere there were evidences of suppressed excitement on the part of the workingmen and

painful uneasiness on the part of the civil authorities and railroad officers. The state troops were held under arms, not on account of any apprehension of trouble from Kelly or his army, but for fear that the demonstrations made by labor unions and unemployed men of Omaha in favor of Kelly would result in riot. During the day a large body of Omaha workmen went to Council Bluffs on the same errand that had taken them there the day before, but did not accomplish their object. At night meetings were held, and the men were bitter in their denunciation of the railway corporations, but the leaders counseled peace and the belligerent spirit manifested itself only in words.

Governor Jackson held a consultation in the evening with his advisers and the railroad men, as to the advisability of calling out the militia of the state to follow the line of march of the industrial army as a special police force. None of the roads were running trains regularly, and some had practically abandoned their service between Council Bluffs and the Mississippi river. They were anxious that something should be done to save them from further loss and damage. At one of the many mass-meetings held during the evening Mayor Bemis, of Omaha, promised fifteen hundred pounds of meat, two thousand loaves of bread and two thousand pounds of coffee for the industrial army. The county clerk at Omaha promised to pay the expenses of ten teams as far as the Mississippi river, and in all over fifty teams were secured. Ten wagon loads of provisions, guarded by a hundred men, left for Weston before midnight. At least three hundred recruits joined the army during the day.

The next day was Sunday, April 22. Kelly had decided that the journey across the state of Iowa must be undertaken on foot, and at 7:30 o'clock in the morning he gave the order for his army to get ready to march overland from Weston to Underwood, the nearest station east. The men cleaned up the camp, and the village hall was scrubbed and left as clean as when it was thrown open to them by the owner. As early as it was, many citizens from Council Bluffs had reached the camp, and a delegation from Underwood stood at the head of the column. With lusty cheers and hearty expressions of good will the people watched the army march away.

CHAPTER XIX.

MARCHING THROUGH IOWA.

After leaving their camp at Weston, the Industrial Army, under General Kelly, moved steadily forward, and before 11 o'clock marched into Underwood, where the whole population stood ready to receive them with open arms. A platform had been erected on the principal corner, and flags and bunting floated in the bright sunlight. The Underwood cornet band was out in uniform, and when the head of the procession began to countermarch, music, shouts, and the reports of fireworks rent the air.

This town is not incorporated, and in the absence of any civic organization a committee of leading citizens met the army. This committee was composed of Marion Hankins, E. Avery, T. D. Cook, B. Grayhill, William Gallup, George Fisher, William Farrell and Isaac Vanderbogat. The ladies of the town had prepared several barrels of coffee and stacks of sandwiches. The army and citizens circled around the platform, where the committee greeted General Kelly and Colonel Baker.

Isaac Vanderbogat welcomed the men. He complimented them on their strict observance of the law during such trying times, and greeted the army as fellow-men and brothers entitled to sustenance from people more fortunate. He thought the men were on a rightful mission, and spoke of the conditions leading up to such a state of affairs. General Kelly made a suitable response, after which the men partook of the lunch provided for them.

While the army was at Underwood Kelly received the following telegram from General Frye, who was at Terre Haute, Ind.:

"General Kelly, United States Industrial Army: Your action is commendable. Pursue the same course and our success is assured. Keep me informed of your movements."

This communication, of course, had reference to Kelly's refusal to avail himself of transportation obtained by a violation of the law. After lunch the army formed in line, and headed

by a crowd of citizens and the Underwood band, resumed the march toward the town of Neola. They reached that point at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

In Neola the people are noted for their hospitality, but on this occasion they outdid themselves. The city hall had been thrown open and filled with bread, meat, crackers and other provender, eighteen loads having been taken there. E. P. Brown was elected marshal of the day, and the committee in charge were Councilmen H. Mendel, William Maxfield, H. H. Pogge, J. I. Dillon and Mayor Johnson, with R. Clark, E. P. Brown and C. D. Dillon from the citizens. The committee had decorated the public building, and all the members wore white ribbon badges. The Neola band had been called out, and when the advance guard of the army became visible over a distant hill the citizens formed a procession and marched out to meet the column. Mayor Johnson received the guests with an earnest speech, assuring them that they were heartily welcome. As a sort of sarcastic fling at Governor Jackson for calling out the state troops, Neola met Kelly's army with a militia composed of little boys and girls and some young ladies, all armed with flags and wearing across their shoulders white strips of silk on which was printed, "Neola's Militia." The company was headed by two little boys about ten years old, bearing toy wooden guns.

After a short delay the army, with its escort, marched through the town to Butler's beautiful grove, just east of Neola and situated on the banks of the Mosquito creek. This was the camping place that had been selected for them. During the evening a rousing public meeting was held in the city hall, and speeches were made by several of the most prominent citizens. The town was flooded with country people, who had come in to see the army. One of the methods employed by the Neola people to show their disapproval of the opposition to the Commonwealth movement was the hanging in effigy of Judge Hubbard, the Iowa attorney of the Chicago & North-Western railroad, who was held responsible for the calling out of the militia and for the use of some very abusive language directed at Kelly and his men.

At 9 o'clock on the following morning the army broke camp at Neola, but before it could be got under way it was evident that trouble was brewing. Up to this time the leader had had no difficulty in maintaining the most perfect discipline, but petty

jealousies that had heretofore been smothered or kept in the background were brought prominently to the surface by several unfortunate circumstances. To begin with, General Kelly stripped Colonel Baker of his shoulder-straps and dismissed him from the army. Baker had been partially under a cloud for some time, and at Neola it was charged that he committed flagrant violations of the rules, which prohibited immorality and the bringing of whisky into camp. The discharged officer took the back-track toward Council Bluffs. The next circumstance was an apparent conflict of authority. Company C of the army was composed entirely of men recruited at Sacramento, Cal. Their commander, George Speed, had been a sort of Socialist agitator at home, and when the company at that place was organized he was employed to drum up recruits by making speeches on the street corners. Consequently, when the army started from California he was made colonel of the Sacramento division and wielded even a greater influence over his particular body of men than did General Kelly.

For some reason there was a spirit of rivalry, amounting at times to bitter feeling, between the Sacramento and the San Francisco men. It culminated on the morning in question in a fierce altercation between two of them, over some trivial matter, and General Kelly, who had grown very tired of these disputes, used his authority to put an end to them. Calling up Company C, he undertook to disband it and distribute its members among the other companies. But Company C objected to being disbanded, and openly refused to obey the commanding officer. General Kelly at once declared them in mutiny and ordered them disbanded. He compelled each man to surrender his outfit of blankets and utensils, and pronounced them no longer members of the army. The Sacramento company, however, followed the army on its march eastward, and before reaching Avoca, twenty miles from Neola, a reconciliation had been effected. A conference was held, the result of which was that mutual regrets were expressed, and General Kelly restored Company C to its former standing in the industrial legion.

But it was plain to many that the feeling had not died out, and that there was danger of its cropping out again on slight provocation. Fifty-six farmers from the neighborhood of Neola tendered the use of their teams for the transportation of the men to Avoca.

The latter point was reached at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and the army went into camp. There were no further exhibitions of animosity or temper that night, but the next day there was a rupture that resulted in a division of the army.

When the troops left Avoca, early on the morning of the 24th, intending to make the city of Atlantic their next stopping place, all was peace and harmony. As the men approached Weston, after marching seven miles, Colonel Speed and General Kelly had hot words. The general charged Speed with disobeying orders in allowing the men to leave camp contrary to rules. Speed replied that Kelly should account for several thousand dollars of money contributed to the army before he charged others with disobedience. General Kelly called a court-martial and Speed was sentenced to the ranks unanimously. But the disgraced official's friends, three hundred strong, rallied round him, refused to recognize the court-martial's sentence, and elected Speed their general on the spot. Then the ranks lined up and the army marched to Atlantic.

They arrived in Atlantic at 7 o'clock. The city officials received them pleasantly and they were conducted to the fair grounds by a committee of which Mayor Kirby is chairman. The official delivered a brief address of welcome to the army, treating the two generals with the same courtesy. At the camp the two commands received opposite locations, and a large supply of substantial food was distributed. The farmers of the county had contributed a generous quantity, as Kelly had announced his intention of remaining there all the following day in order to rest from the forced marches recently made.

After the army had devoured several wagon loads of provisions, the mutiny of the army again began to be manifested. General Kelly's command had control of the provisions of the camp, and this held the key to the situation. Speed insisted that he had been chosen general of his command by the same authority from which Kelly received his title, therefore there was no reason why he (Speed) should not maintain his position. A number of the men of both sides made efforts to effect a reconciliation between the two commanders. Self-constituted committees moved back and forth between the two headquarters.

Finally General Speed started to leave camp and was stopped by Kelly's sentry and informed that a pass was required from the

general before he could go out. Speed at once became demonstrative and advanced upon the sentry. Members of both commands rushed forward, and for a while it looked as if a conflict would occur, but the mayor stepped between the warring factions and declared if order were not maintained the civil authorities would take control. This quieted the men for the time.

The mayor concluded, however, that the danger of a conflict was great and ordered the thousands of visitors from the fair grounds. He ordered the gates closed, and told General Kelly that his men must not be permitted to leave camp during the night. There was much uneasiness among the men, and the camp was in a state of suppressed excitement.

Fortunately, however, the dissensions in the rank were not as serious as were reported in the daily press at the time, and were not of long duration. In fact, peace was fully and permanently restored on the following day. Colonel Baker returned from Council Bluffs, ready to make the explanation necessary to clear away the misunderstanding that had led to his expulsion from the army and to act as peacemaker between the San Francisco and Sacramento divisions. Both Kelly and Speed were found to be laboring under misapprehensions in regard to each other's feelings and motives, and were glad of the first opportunity to bring about an amicable adjustment of their differences. Consequently, when friendly outsiders intervened, it was found to be an easy matter to bring about a conference, and on the morning of April 25, while the army was still in camp in the Atlantic fair grounds, Kelly, Speed and Baker met in consultation. The outcome was that the dissenters agreed to rejoin General Kelly in their old relations. Reconciliation was effected in a measure through the influence of Maj. Thomas M. Holden, Speed's main support. Holden had strong influence among both divisions of the army, and his record for bravery in the Civil War really entitled him to consideration. He was a San Francisco woodturner, and, having been out of work six months, joined this movement. He proved himself to be a man of great intelligence.

A mass-meeting was held at 4 o'clock at the opera house. As an indication of the popularity of the movement in this vicinity the affair was a success. The capacity of the opera house is one thousand. An hour before the meeting was called to order twice that number had packed into every avenue of the little playhouse.

There were no members of the army present but the officers, the gathering being composed wholly of Atlantic business men, farmers and mechanics. It was a representative gathering of the best elements of society in this county.

General Kelly, Colonel Speed, Colonel Baker, Major Holden, Mayor Whitney, and a committee of citizens occupied positions on the platform. Kelly spoke first. He was received with cheers. In describing the suffering of the men as they were in the cold and rain at Council Bluffs the general grew eloquent and many persons were observed to be shedding tears.

He declared that notwithstanding the intrigue of corporation managers his men would march through Iowa, and at Chicago would probably double their strength. He said they would add such members to the ranks from the army of coal strikers in the East as to appear at Washington with a crowd of men five times in excess of the troop the Federal government is able to muster. He thought Congress might not be touched by this demonstration, but they would at least appreciate the suffering of the common people and hasten "the day when legislation in the interest of the laboring man would be passed by Congress." Kelly's sentiments in relation to menacing the National Legislature provoked rounds of applause. General Kelly appealed for some shoes for his men. Four hundred pairs of shoes were secured in less than ten minutes. The general at noon invested two hundred dollars in blankets. They were much in need by the army, and the men had in many instances suffered great injuries from sleeping on the bare ground, without cover. Visitors to the camp noticed the constant and severe coughing that was going on there. It was discovered, too, that during the previous night General Kelly had given to a sick comrade the last blanket he possessed, passing the night on the ground himself. Eight men had been admitted to the local hospital since the arrival in Atlantic.

After the opera house meeting General Kelly, Speed, Baker, and Rev. Mr. Lemen drove to the camp. The bugles called the men together and Kelly mounted a wagon seat amid ringing cheers from his men. He read them the Associated Press dispatches, telling of the Montana fight between Coxeyites and deputies, and a cheer greeted the announcement. "First blood for the unemployed," a man shouted, but Kelly sternly commanded silence. "This is the worst blow we have had," he said. "We

will now be regarded as lawless men, we, who have broken no laws. But we will march to Washington through thousands of regulars and tens of thousands of the militia. Not by physical force, men, but by law and through favorable public opinion."

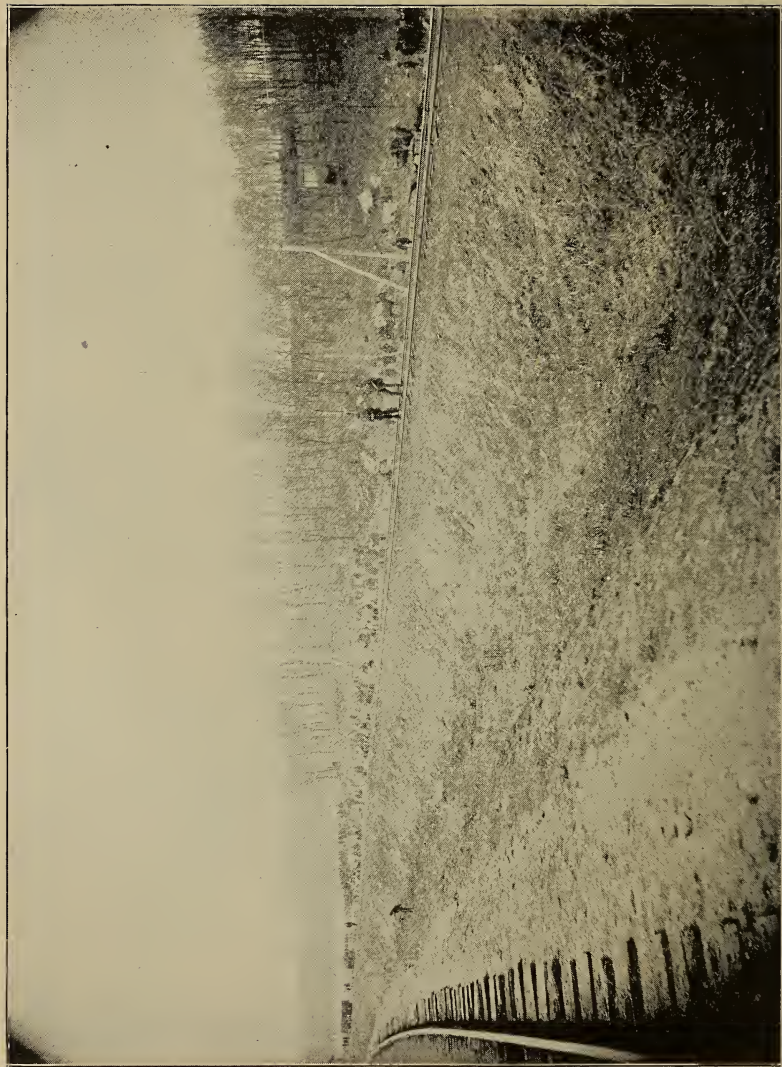
He announced the reconciliation and stepped down from the wagon, while a frantic roar of approval went up from the crowd. Baker, Speed and Lemen followed and the men voted for a united march eastward.

It was the intention of the company to pass Sunday at Des Moines, and the prospects were that they would be able to carry out that programme. General Kelly received a statement from Des Moines laboring men to the effect that a bureau for the army would be opened there tomorrow and recruits invited from the entire state, similar to the headquarters at Lincoln, Neb., which was already forwarding small bodies of soldiers to the army. Kelly was assured by Des Moines labor leaders that if he would remain there a week he would be well cared for and receive probably five hundred additional men from the surrounding towns.

Telegrams from along the proposed route of the men from Atlantic to Des Moines indicated that they would have an abundance of good food. Thirteen farmers who visited the camp during the day each took away with him a strong healthy member of the army on the guarantee of a good position at \$22 a month during the summer and half as much next winter. This plan was becoming very popular with the better element of the organization. General Kelly received a telegram from General Weaver at Des Moines in which he said he believed an arrangement would be made to give them a train when the army reached Des Moines.



THE MARCH TO CHAUTAUQUA CAMP.



C. T. KELLEY'S U. S. INDUSTRIAL ARMY LOOKING EAST AT CHAUTAUQUA GROUNDS.

CHAPTER XX.

KELLY'S PLANS AND HOPES.

Kelly's Industrial Army resumed its march in the best of spirits on the morning of April 26, moving from Atlantic toward Des Moines. Assurances had been received from the latter city that active preparations were being made there not only to receive the pilgrims in a manner befitting their mission, but also to provide them with railway transportation to Chicago, and full of the hope of such substantial aid the men pushed forward with lighter steps and lighter hearts. The day's rest at Atlantic had benefited them in more ways than one, as they had taken advantage of the opportunity to clean up and put themselves in a better sanitary as well as in a better physical condition. Indeed, the army was now in better shape than at any time since leaving the Pacific coast, and officers and privates alike felt a pardonable pride in the knowledge that theirs was by far the largest and best organized of any of the various bodies moving toward the National Capitol.

At this time the army consisted of something over thirteen hundred men, divided into twenty-three companies, each company under the immediate command of an efficient officer bearing the title of "captain." There was an executive council consisting of all the colonels and captains and General Kelly's staff was composed of Col. John Garbett, Col. William Baker, Col. George Speed and Col. George Fentress. There were three quartermasters and two commissary officers, and strict military discipline was exacted at all times and in every department. One of the most imperative rules was that prohibiting any member from bringing liquor into camp or having it in his possession, and another provided that there should be no infraction of national or state laws, or of the ordinances of any city or town through which the army might pass. Any one violating these rules was immediately court-martialed, and if found guilty was expelled from the organization.

Kelly's word was law again after the disruption and reunion at Atlantic. The dissenters, on reflection, recognized the fact that the commander's course had been consistent and in accordance with military form, and they respected him all the more for his determination to maintain the discipline established at the beginning. They were now thoroughly united, with but one thought and one object, and that to reach Washington. At almost every town along the route General Kelly addressed the citizens, explaining to them the aims and purposes of the movement of which he was the leader. To a very large proportion of the people the object of the march to Washington was a mystery, or was but vaguely understood, and they manifested the deepest interest in the straightforward recital of the industrial commander as he endeavored to impress upon them the importance and magnitude of the movement. Should his army be refused approach to the Capitol, General Kelly said he would, upon his arrival in Washington, take four of his men and make a personal appeal to Congressman Pense, of Colorado, Maguire, of California and Senator Allen, of Nevada. Through their efforts he hoped to be allowed to draw up his men where the lawmakers of the nation must see them.

"Petitions from laboring people have been numerous and ineffective in the past," said the general; "but this living petition will be hard to pigeon-hole. That is the reason I am leading these men to the Capitol. Once there our plans will be successfully carried out. Two congressmen are already pledged to present a memorial in our behalf. That memorial is now being drawn up by a well-known Washington firm of constitutional lawyers, and will be ready for us when we reach the journey's end. Our demands as set forth in the memorial will be about as follows:

"We will ask that the commission already in existence to look after the redeeming of arid lands in the West be instructed to proceed with the work. We will ask that the men in our army, and the great army of the unemployed which we represent, be put to work on this irrigation. My idea is that by the time those arid wastes have been wrested from the sage brush and jack rabbit and have begun to bloom the men who have worked there will have saved enough money to carry them through their first year of farming. They can settle on the lands they have reclaimed and within a short period will have developed from homeless

wanderers into sturdy farmers and property owners. That in substance is our demand. We will not attempt to dictate what wages will be paid; what we want is work. If we can only get to Washington, if we can let the lawmakers see that we are bread-winners, honest and sincere, we will be successful in our mission, for our demands are not unreasonable.

"I have no connection with Coxey. We will combine with his army if we can reach Washington in time, but if not we will go alone."

Beautiful weather favored the progress of the army. It reached Anita at 1 o'clock and halted long enough for dinner, after which it was again put in motion. That night it camped at Adair, twenty-one miles from Atlantic, and the usual cordial reception was tendered the weary men. And so the great army moved forward day by day, undaunted by discouraging delays and obstacles that made the advance slow and tedious, plodding patiently and bravely on toward the goal that was still nearly two thousand miles away.

CHAPTER XXI.

KELLY ALARMS THE RAILROADS.

While the army was in camp at Adair, the officials of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific railroad saw fit to issue a warning to the travelers. They declared that they would ditch any train which Kelley or his men might steal on their road. Yardmaster Hamilton, authorized by General Superintendent Dunlap and Division Superintendent Stillwell, of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific road, carried an armful of papers to the Kelley camp and distributed them to the men. They were notices from the Rock Island road to the effect that the railroad company had received information that an attempt would be made to steal a train, and warning the Kelleyites that if any such attempt were made they must bear the consequences. The notice read as follows:

"CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND & PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY, DES MOINES, Iowa, April 26, 1894—*To Whom it May Concern:* Threats having been made that a train of this company will or may be seized by parties in the so-called 'industrial army,' or other like organization, for the purpose of running the same over the tracks of this company, notice is hereby given that in case any such seizure occurs and attempt is made to run such train on the tracks of this company, for the safety of public travel and of our employés, the passage of such train will be obstructed, the usual danger signals displayed at the point or points of obstruction, and any train run in opposition to such signals or after this notice, will be at the peril of the parties operating or upon the same.

"W. P. STILLWELL, Division Superintendent"

General Kelly, Colonel Speed and Colonel Baker each received one. Kelly said that the notices were an attempt to incite the men to acts of violence, and that the railroad had been endeavoring for several days to stir up a turbulent spirit which would lead the men to steal a train and thus give the road an opportunity to call on the Regular Army, as was done in the case of the Hogan

army in Montana. He added that the railroad need not worry about him or his men, for though a few men might try to steal rides, tramp fashion, the army would not board a train unless the train was donated or paid for.

The men became very much excited when the notices were distributed and gathered around the camp-fires reading them aloud. They had just come into camp and were waiting for the supper rations to be handed out when the railroad men began distributing the notices. The men of the San Francisco division were indignant and swore that the railroad was trying to worry them into breaking the peace. If Kelly said "walk" they would walk. They were asked what they would do if Kelly said "steal a train." They promptly replied that they would steal the train.

The officers reiterated that the Industrial Army was pledged to keep the peace and obey all the laws of the land and would keep its pledge. Kelly added that he would like to see every man of his army who committed a breach of the peace arrested, and if they stole rides and were arrested they had but themselves to blame.

It transpired that the railroad men had had their hands full during the day with stragglers from Kelly's command, and it was this that had prompted the superintendent to sound his note of warning. The men were tired of walking, and the twenty-two miles between Atlantic and Adair filled many of them with a strong desire to cover the distance doubled up on the brake beams of Rock Island freight cars. The Atlantic people did not turn out the one hundred and thirty teams which Chairman Goodspeed, of the citizens' transportation committee, promised the Kellyites. Only twenty-six wagons lined up. This meant a long, dusty, hot tramp for some of the men.

So about one hundred and fifty slipped past the guards and took to the railroad tracks. When an east-bound freight train pulled out of the depot yards fifty of the men climbed aboard, and ten minutes after seventeen of them were locked up in the Atlantic calaboose. The rest scattered when the railroad men charged upon them, and started for Adair, over the ties. Other men took to the railroad after leaving Atlantic, for the wagon road parallels the railroad in a general way and crosses it several times. Before the army reached Anita, where lunch was served by the citizens,

nearly two hundred men were strung along the railroad right of way watching for a favorable chance to steal a ride.

As the grade to Adair is all uphill, freight trains cannot get up high speed, and it was comparatively easy for the experienced men in the straggling contingent to grasp the truck-rods and swing under the cars upon the brake beams. Every freight train that ran east out of Atlantic carried a score of railroad men in addition to the train crews, and they sprang from car to car, kicking the Kellyites off or pulling them out when the trains stopped. This vigorous policy succeeded in keeping the freight trains free of dead-heads.

When the army moved out of Anita, fifty Kellyites crossed the fields and formed a group east of the depot. A freight train stood on the side-track ready to pull out, and the men intended to board the train and ride to Adair. This particular train carried no extra men, but the train crew outwitted the Kelly men by backing the train on the side-track a mile west of the depot and then running past at full speed.

Several times the men who were summarily kicked off the trains hurled rocks at the crew, but aside from this exhibition of bad temper, nothing approaching resistance occurred.

The railroad men looked upon this day's proceedings as the beginning of the end, and regarded the approach of the army to Des Moines with grave misgivings. Kelly's followers firmly believed that they would ride out of Des Moines on a freight train which would be given to them. The railroad officials declared that only a full fare, paid in advance for each man, would secure transportation from Des Moines.

While the frightened railroad people were distributing their printed admonition in the camp at Adair, Gen. James B. Weaver was holding a meeting in Des Moines for the purpose of arranging for the relief of Kelly's army upon its arrival there. The meeting was composed almost entirely of Populists and laboring men. President Aylesworth, of Drake University, presided and made several speeches, praising the army and calling for human treatment of it. General Weaver said that he did not know of any movement whatever to get recruits for it in Des Moines or the state. Committees were appointed by the meeting and by the Trades Assembly of the city to meet the army and provide it with fuel, food, shelter, and transportation. The army

was to be quartered on the state fair grounds. The sheriff had not decided what he would do with the army. He would probably take a look at it and act on his impressions. There was sympathy for the army among the laboring men, but business men and the wealthier classes were alarmed. They feared that some determined attempt to capture a train would be made. The roads threatened to take every car and engine out of Des Moines and run nothing into the city if there should be the least prospect of trouble.

The advance committee which Kelly sent ahead of the army to work up sympathy and secure provisions, and which was made up of trades union men from Omaha, Council Bluffs and Neola, did its work well. This is a copy of the circular sent out by the committee from twenty-four to forty-eight hours ahead of the arrival of the army:

"Kelly's army is coming and you are invited to help provide for them while stopping in your town, so fill your wagon boxes with bread, meat, potatoes, and hard-boiled eggs. There are fifteen hundred of them, and it is going to take a great deal to feed them, so be as liberal as possible. The town-people are doing their share and only ask you to co-operate with them. Teams and wagons are wanted to take them to the next town, as the army is footsore."

It was rumored that an injunction was to be served on Kelly to prevent his leading the men through the country, but the authorities disclaimed all knowledge of it. Kelly laughed at the story and called it nonsense. The general addressed the town-people of Adair, securing a good-sized audience, and was given some money and a goodly amount of provisions.

An interesting feature of the progress of the Kelly army through Iowa was the sympathy manifested by the farmers in a very practical way—a way which was so earnest as to be by no means in consonance with the proposition that they helped the army along simply to get it out of the way. The program for supplying aid to the Kelly army was this: In advance of the army at all times went certain captains on horseback or in buggies, accordingly as the supplies of the occasion afforded, and visited the houses for a mile or so back on each side of the main line of progress, requesting the farmers, merely as an evidence of their sympathy for the movement, to send on their teams to help carry on the

tired members of the army as far as the next town. The response to this request from the farmers of Iowa to Mr. Kelly was something infinitely surprising. Upon the entrance of the army into the town of Anita, on the night of Thursday, the 26th, no less than three hundred wagons had come in from the surrounding country to assist in carrying the army forward to its next destination. Not only did the farmers abandon their spring work to exhibit this evidence of sympathy, but they brought with them great loads of provisions as a contribution to the commissary department of the moving body. Many of them came from miles aside from the course of the army, and they could only have been incited to this course by an earnest sympathy with the object of the movement. This was a remarkable feature of the movement in Iowa, and, it may be said, was also a remarkable feature of many parts of the progress of the Frye and Coxey and other armies. The farming community has in a practical way shown that it did not look upon these moving armies as collections of vagabonds, but rather as decent, earnest men, enthusiasts possibly, but seeking certain ends according to an idea of their own.

The next objective point on the route after leaving Adair was the town of Stuart. When General Kelly massed his Industrial Army for the march, on the morning of April 27, he was somewhat astonished, but more amused, to learn that one hundred and twenty-one Sacramento men were missing. The men had asserted the night before that they would walk no farther, and as soon as breakfast was over folded up their tents and silently prepared to steal rides. They said they would not rejoin the army at Stuart, but Kelly was confident that the seductive influence of the commissary would bring them back.

The march was begun under discouraging prospects. Rain began falling soon after dawn, and the wagons that had been expected to carry the army failed to materialize. There were scarcely sufficient teams to haul the baggage and the sick, and grumbling among the men was loud and deep. Kelly waited until almost 9 o'clock for teams, and then, discouraged, ordered the army forward, telling them to take the railroad instead of the wagon road if they wished.

"But do not interfere with the trains," he commanded. "If you do you cannot go farther with me."

The bugler blew a faint blast and the companies moved for-

ward. There were no cheers from the town-people, no flowers for the general. The men tramped silently along the soggy road, and at the first turn fully two hundred and fifty of them reached the railroad and began a tie calculation.

One of the Council Bluffs' advance committeemen, R. O. Graham, became convinced during the day that further effort to secure wagons for transportation would be useless, and returned home. The farmers in the vicinity were much less inclined to haul the men than those farther west, and Graham became convinced that the army was billed for a foot march to Des Moines.

General Kelly, and in fact every member of the organization, was anxious to get out of Iowa and into a state where the authorities were less hostile to the movement. They believed they would fare much better in Illinois, for the news of acting Governor Gill's attitude toward the industrial legion had reached them. Mr. Gill, when asked if he would be disposed to call out the militia, or any part of it, when Kelly's army reached Chicago, or during its progress, through the state, said:

"I have watched the papers for accounts of the progress of Kelly's army across the state of Iowa and I have yet to learn of a single instance where they have destroyed the property of others. Whatever may be said of the composition of the army its avowed purpose is philanthropic, and so long as the army shows no disposition to encroach upon the rights and property of others it will be my policy to keep 'hands off.' I have not canvassed the matter thoroughly in my own mind, but as I feel now I will not call upon any corporation to transport the army across the state. If that were done it would be a precedent from which to argue that corporations should carry other so-called philanthropic bodies. Unless the army is found guilty of destroying property or of other breaches of the public peace the militia will not be called out by me, nor will I interfere in any way."

What naturally interests thoughtful people is what manner of men these are, who are leading the various movements appearing in unison throughout the country. When the Kelly movement is considered, it may be said of this leader that he is a somewhat remarkable character, and, what is better, apparently an honest one. He is a printer by trade, having, necessarily, under the present condition of things, little of the bearing of a man of status in what is ordinarily termed society. He is, nevertheless, not with-

out a certain grace of his own, and a certain dignity. This, at least, may be said of him in regard to what he knows, and what he probably thinks, that he has read deeply, and really wants to accomplish certain ends for the good of the world. He may be at times too impulsive. He may have been too impulsive when he founded the original relation, or made the original agreements, whatever they were, with Colonel Speed, with whom he has had trouble. Speed is a man of another type, just as honest, probably, but with more recklessness, less definiteness of purpose, and less tact and discrimination.

General Kelly has certainly a degree of tact. This is made evident by the fact that, during the march, he has not at any one of the trying periods become so excited that he forgot himself. He may have yielded—he may have made concessions—but apparently it has not, at any time, been through fear of consequences or with a regard to anything but the cohesion of his forces and the general welfare of the movement. That he is not particularly afraid of anything, and does not fear to pass through any sort of scene or ordinary sort of consequences, has been demonstrated time and again during the trying progress of his army from the far West to its present location.

It may be said further of General Kelly that, seemingly, he does not think for the moment, merely. He reasons to have such an effect produced as he marches, that the memory of the army's passage will be a good one rather than a bad. He has been able to accomplish this. His army has endured great hardships; greater, possibly, than occurs to an ordinary army during real war, barring the element of battle. They have faced more hardship patiently, pluckily and well than does the ordinary army in a real campaign of the grimmest sort. They have endured, these men. They have been patient, law-abiding and earnest. This can be said so far for General Kelly's command.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE FRYE MOVEMENT.

The influence of the Coxey movement was felt on the Pacific coast early in February of this year. Gen. Lewis S. Frye, who was an enthusiastic believer in the measures advocated by the great head of the Commonweal, having begun the work at Los Angeles, Cal., on the 18th of the month named. General Frye left Oakland a few days previous to this time for the purpose of crossing the desert before engaging in the work of organizing a "petition in boots," but stopped over in the city first named and attended a meeting in the Church of the New Era, where the subject, "What is best to promote the welfare of the human family" was discussed. Each speaker was allowed five minutes for debate, and the general, taking advantage of the invitation, said:

"Undeniably the best thing for the great army of the unemployed of America is to organize and present itself to Congress at Washington."

His remarks so impressed his audience that a motion prevailed to give him all the time he desired. He delivered an address forty-five minutes in length, which carried conviction to numbers. A meeting was called of working people for the next Tuesday at Central Labor hall, where General Frye again spoke upon the subject nearest his heart, concluding with a call for a meeting at Naud Station, Los Angeles, and a committee was named to draft a preamble and constitution. A committee on ways and means was chosen February 23, which body issued slips for aid for the enterprise in hand.

The committee on preambles and constitution made its report March 5, and the following was unanimously adopted:

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, The evils of murderous competition; the supplanting of manual labor by machinery; the excessive Mongolian and Pauper immigration; the curse of alien landlordism; the exploration, by rent, profit and interest, of the products of the toiler, has centralized the wealth of the nation into the hands of the few, and placed the masses in a state of hopeless destitution.

We have only to look upon the history of the past—like causes produce like results. These same causes led to the downfall of Persia, Greece and conquering Rome. The end came when two per cent of their population owned all the national wealth.

We have reached that point on our own road to ruin where three per cent of the population own seventy-six per cent of all the wealth. Witness the abandoning and selling of children by their parents in San Francisco, on the western shore, and the protest against the slave traffic in children from Italy by New York, on the eastern shore of our nation.

This is one of the signs, history tells us, that preceded the downfall of all the past great nations.

The daily grind of pinching poverty, linked with the thought of a hopeless future, kills even the deep maternal instinct. The greatest crime perpetrated by a nation is to allow her people to be idle and sink into debauched servitude. The strange tragical questions confront us on every hand.

Why is it that those who produce food are hungry?

Why is it that those who make clothes are ragged?

Why is it that those who build palaces are houseless?

Why is it that those who do the nation's work are forced to choose between beggary, crime or suicide, in a nation that has fertile soil enough to produce plenty to feed and clothe the world; material enough to build palaces to house them all, and productive capacity, through labor-saving machinery, of forty thousand million man-power, and only sixty-five million souls to feed, clothe and shelter. Recognizing the fact that if we wish to escape the doom of the past civilization something must be done, and done quickly.

Therefore we, as patriotic American citizens, have organized ourselves into an Industrial Army, for the purpose of centralizing all the unemployed American citizens at the seat of government (Washington, D. C.) and tender our services to feed, clothe, and shelter the nation's needy, and to accomplish this end we make the following demands on the government:

1st. Government employment for all her unemployed citizens.

2d. The prohibition of foreign immigration for ten years.

3d. That no alien be allowed to own real estate in the United States.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

SECTION 1. This organization shall be known as the United States Industrial Army.

SEC. 2. It shall have the power to make its own Constitution and By-Laws and elect its own officers.

ARTICLE II.—HOW COMPOSED.

SECTION 1. This army shall be composed of American citizens over sixteen years of age, or those who have declared their intentions to become such.

ARTICLE III.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the army shall be a general, five aids, a quartermaster-general, brigadiers, colonels, captains and sergeants.

SEC. 2. The general, quartermaster-general and five aids shall be elected by the army; brigadier by his brigade; colonel by his regiment; captain and sergeant by their company.

ARTICLE IV.—THE GENERAL AND STAFF.

SECTION 1. The general and staff shall have the supervision over the army, and see that the constitution is carried out; grant commissions to recruiting sergeants, and have power to revoke the same.

SEC. 2. The general and staff shall constitute a court-martial. The accused to have a right of an appeal to a vote of the army against their decision.

SEC. 3. Officers to hold office during good behavior.

ARTICLE V.

SECTION 1. Fifty men shall constitute a company; ten companies a regiment; five regiments a brigade.

ORDER OF DISCIPLINE.

Roll call twice a day, when practicable. Drill once a day, when practicable. Any disobedience of orders shall be sufficient grounds for expulsion from the army. Each regiment to have its own rules of order not in conflict with the order of the army.

Adopted at Los Angeles, Cal., March 5, 1894.

The general inaugurated a series of meetings in Los Angeles, February 26, and thenceforward caused his followers to form

processions and march through the principal streets every day up to and including the 3d of March. The Meyer warehouse, with dimensions of 60x60 feet, was secured March 4 and occupied as barracks. A constitution was adopted on the following day and General Frye elected commander of the proposed expedition. He soon thereafter named the following aids: F. O. Saulsbury, R. Bease, G. Kerr, O. Keming and O. Gauff; general quartermaster, J. J. O'Brien; colonel, J. Gould, and J. B. Payne lieutenant-colonel, the two latter being Grand Army men. Recruiting was begun at once and one thousand recruiting commissions were issued on the 8th inst. Ten days afterward General Frye left Los Angeles and proceeded on the proposed route with a view to making arrangements for the reception and entertainment of his command, which on March 16 proceeded on foot for a distance of sixty miles, receiving excellent treatment throughout that distance. Then transportation was obtained by way of the Southern Pacific railroad, through the arid belt of Arizona, over the mountains and onward east until El Paso, Tex., was reached.

General Frye, who had reached El Paso some little time before the arrival of his command, was arrested March 20, by order of the mayor of that city, who then issued a proclamation calling on "all able-bodied men to arm themselves, meet at the Courthouse, and organize, with a view to protecting their homes and families against the invasion of the horde of thieves and tramps, who plundered and robbed the various towns through which they passed." The mayor also wired Governor Hogg, asking for United States troops, and received a reply to the effect that the "State executive is posted concerning the conduct of General Frye's cohorts, and that they are peaceable American citizens, who have a right to go wherever they please, and sincerely hope they may all become citizens of the Lone Star State," adding that "Texas is perfectly able to protect herself without the intervention of the national soldiery, and if there are violations of the law the mayor can call on the sheriff for protection."

Citizens of El Paso held a meeting at 5 o'clock in the afternoon in the court house, when the chairman read a telegram received from Tucson, Ariz., declaring that "the army of General Fry is composed of well-behaved men, in fact the most orderly that had ever passed through the city"; the chairman concluded his remarks with the suggestion that the best way to meet the coming crusaders would

be with bread and meat, an idea that promptly met the indorsement of his hearers, and a committee was appointed for the purpose named, after which a collection of \$76 was taken up for the proposed object. Mayor Salloman, who was present, made a futile attempt to address the meeting, but was hissed out of the hall.

When the army finally arrived, it was met by an escort of one hundred and fifty citizens and accompanied to a large open lot, where the best of food was supplied in abundance. The commonwealers were presented with loaves of bread four feet long, with the recommendation that they be used for guns, and they were also tendered the services of the "McGinty Gun Corps," whose sole weapon consisted of a big wooden log. The march of the army from Los Angeles to El Paso was full of incident and one of unusual hardship, yet the courage of no man failed him. Each one appeared to be imbued with the full determination to accept what might come in uncomplaining spirit, and while the effect of the rough and toilsome journey was plainly visible, all of them stood together like veterans and were evidently under thorough discipline. The regiment was divided into two full companies, each with its complement of officers, and on the march a large silk American flag and a banner were carried in the van by Company C, with this inscription on the latter:

FIRST REGIMENT, U. S. I. A.

Good will toward men
Love, Liberty, Peace

On the reverse side was inscribed:

PRESENTED BY THE

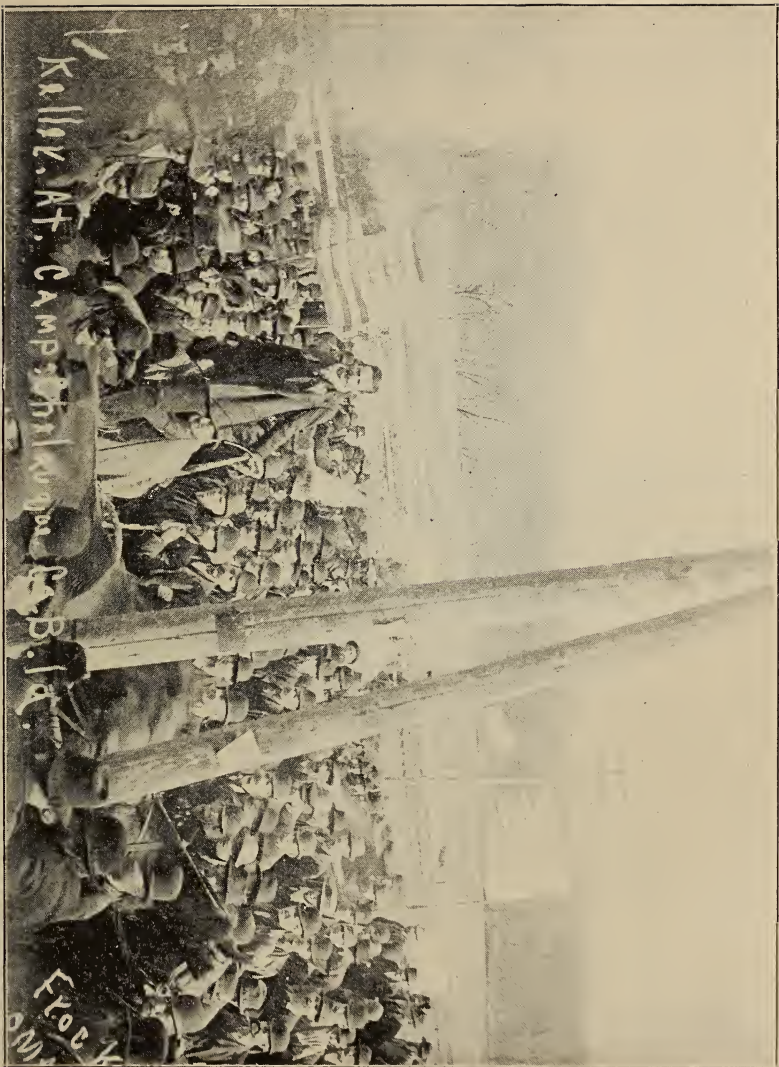
BLUE AND THE GRAY,

Los Angeles, Cal., March 14, 1894.

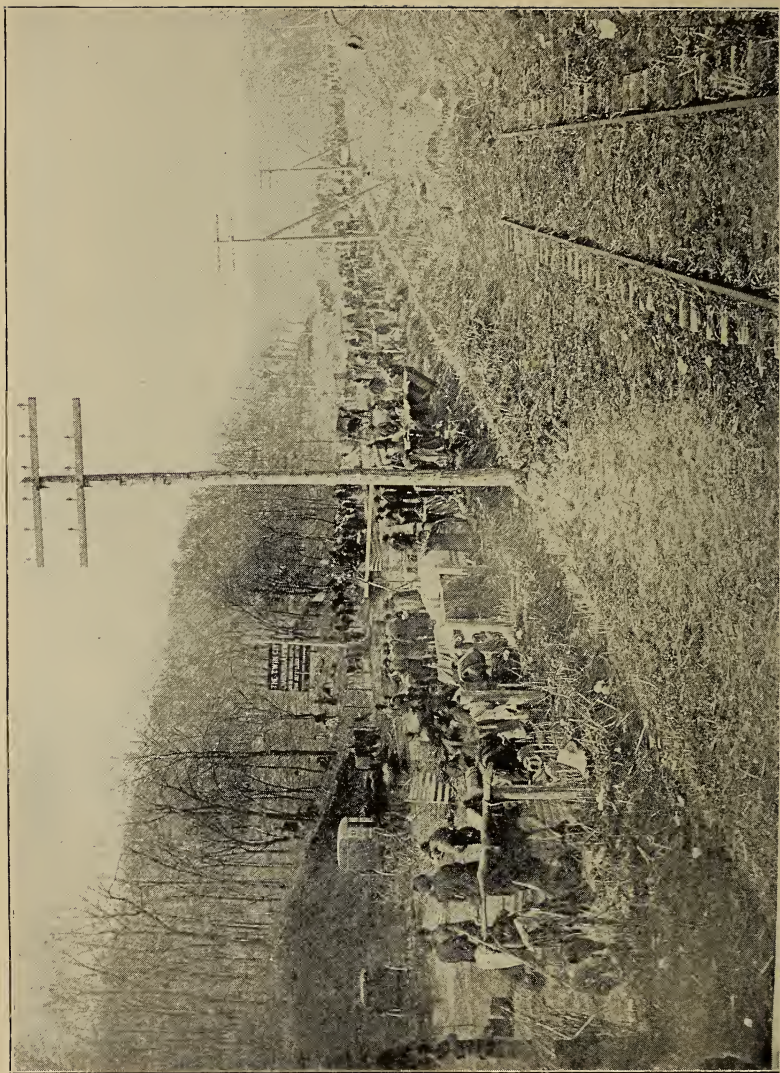
General Frye endeavored to arrange with the Southern Pacific railroad authorities for a freight train across the desert which extends from El Paso east as far as Fort Worth. This desert is a waste of sand dunes which follow each other as the waves of the

sea. Nothing grows there except the prickly and ugly cactus, which frequently reaches ten feet in height. Nothing living is seen on it except an occasional band of coyotes, which, when nothing else can be secured, tear down the cacti and devour the heart of the plants. The Southern Pacific denied Frye's request, and so the army bivouacked just out of El Paso at a siding along the railway. After remaining two days, however, the obdurate road seemed to yield and a freight train was side-tracked and the whole army, with pots, kettles and pans, boarded it. The men swarmed over the cars, crowded the interiors and waited for the train to move. After about seventy miles had been made, the train was side-tracked, by order of the railroad officials, at a Mexican hamlet called Findlay, where the only food obtainable was a few tortillas, a native pancake made of flour and water. A special train stopped for a few minutes in passing and a number of the cattlemen who alighted from it told the leaders that food could be obtained at Sierra Blanca. Acting upon this suggestion, because they knew that continued stay here meant starvation, the box cars were deserted, the line of march formed, and the three hundred wound their way along the dreary and dusty railroad track. The journey proved a frightful one over the arid desert. The men had been on scant rations for three days, and the more recent exposure and privation told seriously upon them. Weariness compelled a halt at 11 o'clock at night, the camp being made on the dreary plain, where the men rested until 3 o'clock the next morning, when they again pushed wearily forward. They arrived at their destination in straggling bodies, from 9 o'clock onward, throughout the day, having been without food for fifty-four hours and deprived of water for eighteen hours, not a spring or brook or water-course of any kind coursing the parched country.

A number gave out under the terrible deprivation on the long journey, and those that were stronger were compelled to return after the broken down wayfarers and assist them forward. There were but ten dollars in the treasury, all of which was invested in a cow which was promptly slaughtered, half parboiled and eaten literally to the bones, this repast being supplanted with a moderate supply of quickly cooked bread which was made from a limited supply of flour given the Commonwealth by a man at the eating station. On the following day General Frye succeeded in getting another cow and one hundred and fifty pounds of flour, which



KELLEY AT CAMP CHAUTAUQUA, COUNCIL BLUFFS, IA.



KELLEY'S ARMY IN CAMP DESPAIR.



Headquarters United States Industrial Army
Camp Los Angeles 3-13-94

Dear Sir or Brother

Enclosed you will find a commission to recruit soldiers into the United States Industrial Army, if from any cause you cannot act, please fill in name of some good man who will follow this cause.

This is the only method that we know of to prevent bloody revolution. We go forth with love for our fellow man, to tender our services to the government, by our peaceful law abiding manner. We disown the "Honor" as we will not fight against our brother. We leave forever behind the old relics of barbarism, & engines of destruction, & take up the armor of Truth & Justice & humanity. "Till the War drums beat no longer & the battle flags are furled In the Parliament of Man. The Federation of the Nation Tell the Common sense. All most shall hold a fruitful Reim in awe. And the peaceful Earth shall slumber, Loped in universal Law."

Hoping you great success

I am fraternally Yours
Lewis C. Fry
General U. S. I. A.

food scarcely served to allay the hunger of the multitude, which had been so long on short allowance.

After remaining at this inhospitable and dreary place seventy-two hours, the leader wired Governor Hogg, announcing the privation and suffering of his followers, and sent a somewhat similar message to the people of El Paso. The latter was promptly responded to as follows:

"What do you need and what is the outlook?"

"We need transportation and provisions. Outlook very gloomy."

This last reply seemed to stir the good people of El Paso, who sent the Governor the following message:

"The Southern Pacific officials have halted Frye's men out on the desert, and side-tracked them where they can get no food, while there are car loads of eatables side-tracked within a few feet as a temptation to violate the law."

On receipt of this the Governor notified the railway that the conduct of the Commonwealth was as commendable as the action of their officials was damnable; that there was nothing in the annals of history as barbarous as their action in seeking to drive starving men into violation of the law, that they might have the pleasure of punishing them for it; that he had directed the officers of the law that if these men committed depredations he should teach the autocratic, impertinent superintendent and other officers of that road lessons they never would forget, one of which would be the revocation of the charter of the road.

In the meantime the El Paso people bestirred themselves mightily and gathered a generous quantity of provisions, which they forwarded by express, and then chartered a passenger train to take the beleaguered men to San Antonio, Tex. A delegation of El Paso men met them at this point with a generous quantity of eatables, and then switched the train on to another road to Taylor. At the latter place the people were very hospitable, providing the Commonwealthers with commissary stores and giving them fifteen dollars in cash. General Frye, touched by the spirit of kindness and sympathy shown by the people of this place, informed them that if they would make up a train of refrigerator cars he would quietly move forward his command by this means of transportation. This was done and progress was made without special incident to Long View.

The trials of the command had been exceedingly severe, especially upon the cactus desert; they had suffered greatly for lack of food, and more than once for water; yet in all the worst hours of their tribulation never once did they murmur against their chief or seek to return whence they came—a tribute to their earnestness and to the executive ability of General Frye. The latter appeared to be undaunted of obstacles, but, with his face turned toward the Capitol, was resolved that nothing should interfere with his reaching the goal of his desire. His readiness to adapt himself to conditions and circumstances was shown at Taylor, where he, as at other places, showed a way out of difficulties that was simple and direct. Thenceforward the way was made less difficult for many days, or until East St. Louis, Ill., was reached.

Upon the arrival of the body at Longview, Tex., the Iron Mountain road promptly took up the train and skurried with it, with but a stop or two, to Texarkana, where a halt was made, and where the mayor supplied the party generously with comestibles, after which, under arrangements previously made by that official, the cars were coupled to a cattle train and taken through on a whirl to Little Rock, Ark., the men seeming to greatly enjoy the journey notwithstanding its tediousness. Here they were received by the mayor upon their arrival at 9 o'clock in the evening, he escorting General Frye in a carriage to a hotel and afterward going in person to the storekeepers, whom he induced to reopen their places of business. Full of hospitable spirit, he caused the chief of police to have provisions forwarded to the train, sent policemen to conduct the Commonwealers to a dancing pavilion, where they slept for the night. The following day was spent enjoyably at this place, the men resting and recuperating from the jolts and crowding of the cars, and that evening left for Poplar Bluffs, where they were again received with true Southern hospitality. Here a cattle train was provided for their accommodation, and in due season the army reached Carondolet and went into camp at 7 o'clock in the morning. General Frye endeavored to come up with the mayor, but was unable to do so. The Board of Trade generously provided the necessary bodily comforts, and the men ate to repletion. The large-hearted citizens of the town, with generous impulse, provided for the transportation of the Commonwealers into Illinois. Here, at East St. Louis, General Frye was met by

the police, who escorted them to camp at Relay depot and supplied them with provisions ample for a good supper.

The following day General Frye held a meeting in Flanagan's hall, where the attendance was large, and a generous collection followed the addresses of the speaker. The hospitality of the authorities ceased with the first meal, and during the remainder of the stay at the Mississippi town the general was compelled to draw upon his treasurer for funds to provide the food needed for the sustenance of his followers. There was protracted delay in securing transportation from East St. Louis, and the chief of police expressed great concern over the presence of the crusaders, anxiously inquiring of the general what he intended to do. The latter replied that his reception and treatment was so kind that he guessed he should remain there indefinitely, or until such time as means of transportation had been provided. The chief frankly admitted that the problem was one beyond his power of solution, as he had not previously had any practice in such an advanced subject. With hearty good nature General Frye said that he would make the way clear to him, and would suggest if the officer would procure good teams to haul his baggage he would march his men out afoot. This proposition appeared to meet the views of the chief of police, who on the following morning provided the necessary wagons and horses for the purpose stated.

The journey thenceforward eastward was made afoot, the men making fairly long marches daily, finding the people hospitably intent along the route and all of the party maintaining excellent health and good spirits. The itinerary of the journey during the next fifteen days was as follows: Collinsville, vicinity of Troy, Milands, Pocahontas, Greenville, Mulberry, Vandalia, St. Elmo, Altmont, Effingham, Teutopolis, Jewett, Cosey, Marshall and Terre Haute, a single night being spent at each place.

From the latter place transportation was secured by rail to Terre Haute, where the train carrying the body was side-tracked; but General Frye finally induced the Vandalia officials to send his three hundred men forward. They reached Brazil, Ind., the evening of Wednesday, April 25, and, leaving the cars, made an imposing march through the streets of the latter city, being preceded by a fine band. A number of flags were carried in the procession and great crowds of people lined the streets, warmly welcoming the crusaders with cheers and shouts. After the

procession General Frye spoke to a large audience gathered in the opera house, and added to his treasury a very respectable sum as the result of a ten-cent admission fee at the door. Here there were a number of recruits added to the army of peace, and General Frye expressed the utmost confidence in his ability to reach Washington at an early day with a force still further augmented by accessions along the route.

General Frye is a man of strong personality, one who seems thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his undertaking, possesses in a marked degree the faculty of handling men and commanding their confidence and esteem. While a ready speaker, he is not given to boasting or a free communication of his plans and purposes. It is expected by him that the remainder of the journey will be made in greater part by the railroad, and that his forces will join those of Coxey at the Capitol within a very few days of the arrival of the latter at that point of destination.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE COMMONWEAL IN CHICAGO.

The spirit of the Commonweal was first made manifest in Chicago about the time of the great labor meeting in the city, when Carl Browne, a native of Illinois but now a citizen of Calistoga, Cal., and chief marshal of the Coxey forces, who had arrived here August 1, 1893, lectured on the lake front, with the aid of his "financial panorama," about which so much has been written.

All meetings at this place being afterward absolutely prohibited by Mayor Harrison, a committee of citizens with Browne called upon the mayor and that official made sport of Browne's hat and leather coat, but his well known wit was matched well by the sharp retorts of the now famous Marshal of the Commonweal. Browne insisted on the right of peaceable assemblage. The Illinois State Central Committee of the People's party met at Chicago about this date, and D. M. Fulwiler offered a resolution indorsing Browne as a national organizer of "Industrial Legions," which prevailed, and a committee composed of Wm. Hess, C. G. Dixon and Thomas Davis was appointed to present to the governor of the state the matter involved in the action of the mayor of Chicago in interfering with the constitutional right of free assembly. Browne organized a number of industrial legions in Chicago and upon the request of National Commander of the Legions, Paul Vandervoort, he went to Canton, Ohio, to take part in the state campaign, where he met Jacob Selcher Coxey and the Commonweal movement began. The march to Washington was often suggested by Browne before leaving Chicago, when discussing the general situation, and the idea of the national meeting of the Federation of Labor convened in Chicago, December 12, 1893, may be placed to his credit. Mr. Browne returned to Chicago, bringing with him the Coxey resolutions, but leaving behind him the leather coat. Messrs. Danforth and Fulwiler, and E. J. Lindholm, master workman of District Assembly 24, of the Knights of

Labor, rendered assistance to Browne and the Coxe resolutions were introduced by Wm. Penna, of Ohio. It was referred to the committee on resolutions, of which Thomas J. Morgan, of Chicago, was chairman. The resolution was reported favorably by the committee and supported by a speech from the chairman of the same. The resolution prevailed triumphantly and officials were instructed to forward petitions to all unions for signature.

Immediately upon its passage Mr. Fulwiler said to Browne: "That is the beginning of the end. The movement is insured." Browne replied: "Write Coxe that for his encouragement."

Henry Vincent, of the Chicago *Express*, soon caught the inspiration, gave the project frequent notice in his columns, and at the last made up his mind to go to the front, and join the Commonwealth before it left Massillon. Upon his return to Chicago, after two weeks' march, he addressed a meeting, which he had previously called, at 199 East Randolph street, April 16, at People's party headquarters. At this gathering resolutions were adopted in reference to the expected coming to Chicago of the Kelly army, and the following committee appointed to take steps looking to its reception: Henry Vincent, Dr. J. H. Randall, Dr. J. H. Greer, D. M. Fulwiler, H. C. Goodrich, P. J. Grimes, F. Britton, John Walsh and Geo. Ruddy. The committee organized by electing Henry Vincent chairman and Dr. J. H. Randall secretary.

The following day the committee endeavored to see the mayor, but was unsuccessful, and had to be content with an audience with the chief of police. The chief was very agreeable, and stated that he saw no reason to interfere, and that his sole business was to preserve the peace. Concerning a parade, he said that if there was one it should be confined to streets that were not crowded by business.

Headquarters of the Chicago Coxe Commonwealth were opened at 127 La Salle street, the room being donated by Dr. J. H. Greer. At the first meeting of the committee the secretary, Dr. J. H. Randall, was put in charge, and requests were sent out to labor organizations to appoint committees to coöperate. The following central bodies responded immediately: District Assembly 24, Knights of Labor, Carpenters' Council, Building Trades' Council, Central Labor Union, New Century Club, and Allied Woodworkers. H. Vincent and D. M. Fulwiler were made a committee on communications and opened correspondence with General Kelly. A

telegram was received from the latter, saying: "Held by railroad. Can you help us?" To which the following reply was sent: "Will receive you, and help east from here." This answer was cheered heartily when read by the army, then in camp in the mud and rain at Chautauqua.

The following appeal was promptly issued:

"We, the undersigned, a committee elected at a meeting of citizens] who sympathize with Mr. Coxey's industrial army, have organized for the purpose of making arrangements to receive Kelly's men, a contingent of that army from the West. We believe there are many persons ready to do something for them if they can be shown a practicable way. Therefore, that these men may be provided with food, shelter, or a camping place while in Chicago and helped on their way, we solicit the coöperation in the name of humanity of all classes of citizens.

"The men now en route under the command of Mr. Kelly have been in enforced idleness many months. During the last two weeks, wherever they have stopped on their way east, the common report is that they have been orderly, peaceful and lawabiding. The officials in authority, representative citizens and the press in the principal cities in which they have stopped, have not only expressed deep sympathy for them, but have generously provided them with food, shelter, or camping places and other means of comfort to help them on their way. Surely the people of Chicago cannot do less. It is an army of peaceful, plucky, energetic men, with no capital except muscles, nerves and brains, seeking by honest means to labor and earn bread and shelter for themselves and their families. They represent nearly every trade and industry in the country.

"Therefore, in view of the idleness and strikes in Chicago, and the impending reduction of wages which is certain to follow as the army of the idle is increased, we earnestly solicit the co-operation of the trades unions and industrial organizations, and we particularly request them to elect committees to join us and help us do this important work.

"Donations of food, clothing, or money are solicited, and will be strictly accounted for by this committee. Contributors and committees are requested to report at Room 6, 127 La Salle street. By order of the Coxey committee."

The work of the committee was further shown in the appoint

ment of J. H. Greer as chairman of the finance committee, E. J. Lindholm of food and clothing, and F. Britton on shelter. William League offered his cooper factory for the use of the committee, with the following remarkable letter:

"I have a barrel factory situated at 29 to 33 Rawson street, two hundred feet long and two stories high, lying idle. My men are out of employment by the competition of convict-made barrels, made in violation of our state constitutional amendments, by our state authorities and prison contractors, aided by the millionaire packers, who have purchased in large quantities barrels so made. Besides, they purchase hundreds of thousands of prison-made barrels shipped from another state, thus crushing out the honest home industry of our trade, as it is impossible to run our business against this competition without actual loss.

"I have also received a letter from my son in California, stating that in Montana he has been thrown out of employment by legislation demonetizing silver, and that thousands with him had been thrown out of employment at the same time and from the same cause, and whose suffering is beyond description. Knowing as I do the evils now abroad in our land, and sympathizing as I do with honest, industrious men, who with myself are crushed beyond endurance, I hereby tender to your committee the use of my factory to shelter and lodge as many of Kelly's army, now approaching here, as it will accommodate, and let it go down in history that Kelly's army found refuge in Chicago in an idle factory, whose honest workingmen had been thrown out of employment by the infamy of officials who had sworn to protect and enforce the law for the general welfare."

The following motto was attached to the American flag at headquarters when the news from different marching departments of the Commonwealth was received:

"By this we
CA IRA
march."

This motto, in the course of evolution, has taken the following form:

"We all go."

From the first a constant stream of people was coming and going, many of them expressing a desire to join the Commonwealth. The committee thought it wise to begin the enrollment for the

march on to Washington with Kelly, or independent of him, as developments might prove best, and the work was proceeded with, each recruit signing the following pledge: "I hereby pledge myself as a member of the Coxey Commonweal, and promise that I will cheerfully submit to its discipline and be an orderly, peaceful and lawabiding citizen."

In addition to the pledge, the following questions were asked the candidate:

"1. Why do you seek to join the Commonweal army?"

"2. Are you willing to join with the understanding that you are to receive no salary and only such food and shelter as the public may contribute?"

"3. Are you willing to join with the understanding that you may have to march all the way to Washington, and that you are to be lawabiding in all things and strictly conform to the discipline of the Commonweal army?"

Among the signers the American element largely predominates, and the recruits are strong, healthy and intelligent men, of all callings in life. They are molders, puddlers, carpenters, machinists, printers, teachers, surveyors, blacksmiths, builders, bakers, cooks, waiters, laborers, professional men, and, in short, almost every vocation is represented. They all are made to fully understand that the movement is a peaceful effort to carry out the objects of the Coxey resolutions. The enrollment is progressing rapidly, and the leaders predict it will run into the thousands.

The Chicago contingent of the Commonweal, now numbering eight hundred men, went into encampment in the barrel factory, donated by Mr. League, the afternoon of April 23. The following address was issued April 20, by the Commonweal committee of Chicago:

"It is now admitted, by the men and women, in all conditions who are intelligent enough to read the signs of the times, that the Coxey Commonweal needs no promoters nor pushers. 'It goes.' Volition toward it and into it is as natural under the existing conditions as it is for water to run down hill, and it is gathering force every hour.

"The Chicago committee was called into existence by people who thought only of providing for and helping Kelly and his heroic men get through Chicago; but the developments in the last forty-eight hours are such as to convince it that there is in

and now drifting to Chicago a force of from two thousand to five thousand men, who have been in idleness for many months, determined to join the industrial army and the committee has engaged in the work of recruiting, the men whose names have been taken being generally neat in appearance.

"Independently of the list at the committee headquarters, it is currently reported that there is one crowd of about one hundred men and another of nearly nine hundred which is urgently soliciting the committee to organize a division to be known as the Chicago or Northwestern contingent.

"In compliance with this request, and as we sincerely believe in the interest of the general cause of the Commonwealth, the committee has decided to do all in its power to organize the men in Chicago who want to join the Coxey Army. The committee does not want men who have work, except it be such as have means to pay their expenses and can stand it to lay off for a week or a month. Only such men are wanted as are citizens and voters in the United States and who have a fair share of physical ability to endure physical exposure; and are intelligent enough to understand the spirit and purpose of the Commonwealth and, as the saying goes, full of determination to take 'pot luck' with the crowd and to be orderly and lawabiding citizens and to submit to the discipline and regulations of the Commonwealth. All such men are requested to report promptly at headquarters."

CHAPTER XXIV.

RANDALL'S COHORTS.

The Municipal Council of Chicago did not regard with favor the approach of the Kelly phalanx, as is instanced by resolutions which were adopted at its meeting Monday evening, April 23, and which read as follows:

WHEREAS, It has been made known that the so-called Commonwealth army under the command of one Kelly has manifested a disposition to march on to Chicago; and

WHEREAS, It is deemed advisable for the best interests of the city to prevent the congregation of any large bodies of men gathered for the purposes outlined by the leaders of the Commonwealth army; and

WHEREAS, The municipality has been unable and is unable to furnish employment to many deserving unemployed of the city; and

WHEREAS, The many manufacturing interests of the city have been unable to employ the great surplus of labor which we find in our midst, it is hereby declared that, while the municipality favors every measure looking to the employment, care, and protection of our citizens; and

WHEREAS, It is not wise to permit large bodies of the unemployed from other cities of the country to come here as a disturbing element, and this Council hereby requests all railroads entering Chicago not to furnish free transportation to large bodies of men assembled for the purpose indicated; and that while it recognizes railroads as common carriers, obliged under the law to carry all passengers that pay fare, and not desiring to interfere with the rights of the railroad companies, or the rights of American citizens to travel when and where they please, but, believing that the best interests of our community demand firmness and positive action; it is hereby

Resolved, That the Chief of Police be and is hereby ordered

to take such measures as will prevent the railroad companies from unloading any division of this so-called army within the limits of Chicago, and to further prevent the entrance into the city of any division of the said army under any circumstances.

The Commonwealth committee made reply to the foregoing in the following resolutions:

"WHEREAS, The City Council of Chicago, passed some resolutions, offered by Alderman Madden, without debate, without half the aldermen knowing what it was, by a viva voce vote, in which not a dozen joined, instructing the police to prevent the entrance to the city of any division of Kelly's army under any circumstances: Therefore, we, as citizens of the United States and of Chicago, deem it our duty to state that we consider the vague and nebulous string of platitudes composing the said resolution as unwise, unpatriotic, unjustified by known facts, based upon official hysterics resulting from a lot of contradictory ghost stories, and entirely un-American and illegal, as opposed to the rights of citizens to free assemblage and free speech, as well as free travel:

"Resolved, That we consider it a cheap trick of the political panderer to the prejudice of the self-elected upper classes who form corporations, trusts, syndicates and run political rings, to assume beforehand and without proof that any class or number of citizens, no matter how and for what purpose they may come to Chicago, will be dangerous to the peace of one million and a half of people in this city, protected as they are by the same law that protects these expected visitors.

"Resolved, That we believe that whether people intent upon coming to this city are dubbed an army or not; whether or not they came on foot or in palace cars on passes, such as aldermen and others, whether or not they have money, any attempt of the authorities to prevent them from coming to Chicago is illegal and unconstitutional, besides being ridiculous and illiberal.

"Resolved, That we believe in the enforcement of the law upon offenders, but that no amount of hysterical cant can make presumptive offenders against the law out of people who have not yet broken any law, and who will be, while here, as law-abiding certainly as the city council."

On the day following the action of the city council, Dr. J. H. Randall was chosen general of Chicago Commonwealth, and the announcement of the fact was received with cheers by the conting-

ent. Dr. Randall was born near Rochester, N. Y., fifty-four years ago. He was left an orphan when quite young, and for some years sold papers in the streets of New York. When about fourteen years of age he went to Massachusetts, where he worked on a farm, and later studied dentistry. He was married just before the war. During the civil strife he was a soldier in the Twenty-first Connecticut. After the war he went back to New York for a time, and later moved to Pennsylvania, where he practiced his profession. Later he moved to Elmore, Ohio; thence to Clyde, in the same state. It was while living at the latter place that he became interested in the Greenback movement in 1876. He, however, bolted the Butler campaign and supported Blaine and Logan. In 1877 he assisted in organizing the Sovereigns of Industry in Ohio, and later became a national lecturer for the cause. In the same year he went to Pekin, this state, to edit *Legal-Tender*, a Greenback paper. He was on the stump for Weaver, and has made political speeches in Kansas. In 1880 he went to New York to run a Greenback paper.

More than ten years ago he came to Chicago. Here he was for a time associate editor of the *Chicago Express*. During the labor troubles in 1886, he made speeches favoring the eight-hour day. He was master workman of Knights of Labor Assembly 1307.

GENERAL RANDALL.

The election of Doctor Randall as commander-in-chief was quickly followed by General Order No. 1, as follows:

"All members must submit to its discipline, be orderly, peaceful and law-abiding.

"Every member must obey promptly the directions and orders of those who have been elected or appointed to places of authority over them.

"A guard will be detailed every day, for the succeeding twenty-four hours, of a sufficient number of men, to be divided into three reliefs, which shall be under command of the officers of the day.

"Every day a sufficient number of men will be detailed to act as police of shelter and direct men who are thoughtless and careless about their persons, to keep as clean as possible.

"Every man must keep his immediate portion of the quarters clean and neat, and refrain from boisterous and profane and

obscene talk, and conduct himself in such an orderly, sober and dignified manner, whether in or out of quarters, as will impress the public everywhere with the fact that we are American citizens; that we take pride in our country; that we have a just sense of our rights under the laws of our land, and that we are banded together to make the whole people as a jury listen to our grievances.

"Every man must, unless sick, fall in line and answer to roll daily, and if it shall be deemed necessary, when on the march, he shall answer twice a day.

"No person will be allowed in camp except members of the Commonweal army and those who have a permit or a countersign.

"As all men in the Commonweal have given a pledge to cheerfully submit to the discipline necessary to carry out its object, it is expected that every man will do his duty toward the strict enforcement of these regulations.

"No speech-making will be allowed in camp without consent from the commanding officer.

"As all men in the Commonweal army have joined for 'pot luck' and expect to take it, let there be no grumbling over our rations or the quarters furnished to us, no matter what the quality of the one or the convenience of the other may be. We are patriots, and must endure our lot, whatever it may be. But at the same time we will do all in our power, lawfully and peacefully, to merit and secure such consideration of the men and women in our country as will be a credit to them and satisfactory to us."

The following suggestions on company organizations were also issued:

"Companies of seventy-five to one hundred men shall elect from their ranks one captain and two lieutenants. The captain shall appoint from the ranks one orderly sergeant. The captain and lieutenants shall consider the best interests of the men in the selection of four sergeants and eight corporals.

"The orderly sergeant shall select from the rank a clerk."

The work of organization and drill is being carried forward rapidly, and Doctor Randall speaks in high terms of praise of the obedience and tractability of the men.

The women of Chicago formed a Commonweal as an auxiliary to the central committee and appointed the following officers: Mrs. Fannie Kavanagh, president; Mrs. L. D. White, vice-presi-

dent and Mrs. J. H. Randall, secretary, all of whom are actively at work in furthering the objects of the movement. They are busying themselves in providing ways and means and affording encouragement to the men who have enlisted for the campaign. The secretary is the wife of General Randall, and fully shares with him the enthusiasm he has expressed in the movement.



GEN. CHAS. T. KELLEY.



LUNCH NEAR SHELBY.

CHAPTER XXV.

LATEST DAYS IN CHICAGO.

A curious and interesting incident which occurred in the earlier stages of the Commonweal movement in Chicago, was the publication in a Chicago daily of the pictures of two very graceful and interesting young ladies, daughters of Dr. J. A. W. Bradley, a well-to-do North Side physician. The youngest of the two, Viola, aged fourteen, had, it seems, taken a deep interest in the Commonweal movement, as, indeed, had the whole family; and one day asked her mother's consent to solicit provisions for the Chicago contingency. Permission was given, and enlisting her older sister, Alice M., in the cause, the two girls went to work, and, in an incredibly short time, had secured from the surrounding grocers, butchers and bakers, quite a supply of provisions. This fact becoming known to the newspaper men, the pictures above mentioned were secured, in which the younger daughter was represented in a gipsy costume as she had chanced to appear in amateur theatricals. The publication of these pictures, together with the account, was wholly unexpected by the family, and was a source to them of considerable annoyance, nothing being further from their thoughts than to court notoriety. In commenting upon the incident which had brought both himself and his family before the public, the doctor, who is a thoughtful and cultured gentleman, stated that as far as the article was concerned, and even the publication of the pictures, if they should stimulate others to do something for the cause, or to provide food for men who are hungry and starving, he would be satisfied; that he had from the first taken a great interest in the Commonweal movement; that he with others deplored the condition which had made such things possible in this country, and realizing that the movement might take a place in history among the important happenings of the world, and of this country especially, he saw no reason why his daughter or himself or any other good citizens should be ashamed to give it countenance or support. The

younger daughter, Viola, is a modest, charming, pretty miss, who started in with childish enthusiasm to do what she deemed a good work, with no thoughts of receiving the public recognition which came so suddenly and unexpectedly.

Wednesday, April 25, was a busy day at Rawson street barracks, the names of over two hundred recruits being added to the muster rolls before nightfall. One of the earliest developments of the day was the unpleasant discovery that there was no food for the men. Quartermaster Howard announced that he had rations for only two hundred men, while before noon the enrollment showed more than three times that number. Accordingly General Randall called the men together and thus addressed them:

"Men and Officers: You have been told that the Commonwealth organization promises nothing. It cannot give you wages; it cannot give you work; at present it cannot even give you bread, although it is doing all it can to get bread.

"I regret to say," he continued, "that we have not enough food in the quartermaster's store to give each of you even a bite. So those of you who are able-bodied and know where to go must rustle on the outside and get what you can, for we have not enough here for you. Neither have we enough clothing here to keep you warm. A committee of ladies and gentlemen is doing its best to secure food and clothing for you. I will do what I can for you, but we want no grumbling or grumblers here. I want to be perfectly fair with you. That is why I have stated just how things stand, and I want you men to be just as fair with me and put up with what we have.

"Your cause is talking louder for you every day, and the quieter you keep and the more orderly you are the sooner will the people of Chicago realize that you are men with a purpose and they will aid you." At this point the general called up a Pole who could speak English and asked him to address the Poles present in their own language. As soon as the man begun to speak it was seen that he was under the influence of liquor, and in a moment a man cried out: "That fellow is not saying what you said, general; he's talking a lot of rot; he's drunk."

There was a general cry of "Put him out," and in almost less time than it takes to tell it, the fellow was ejected from the quarters. After quiet had been restored the commander said;

"A man who will spend his money for liquor when there are those here who are suffering for bread has no right nor business in these barracks. I will not support the cause of a man who says he is out of work and has five cents to spend for liquor. I want it understood that not a drop of beer or whisky will be tolerated for a moment in this camp. The instant anyone is detected under the influence of liquor he will be put out of the army and kept out. I will not have men around who drink."

These utterances were greeted with hearty cheers and shouts of approval and a tall, fine-looking man about forty years old, who announced that he was a member of company B, then asked for permission to speak. Upon its being granted he turned to the men and said: "Boys, we're a sober set of men here, and we want work, not drink. We've got a principle and we think it's a right one, and we ought to stand by it. The provisions are short. That's no fault of the officers. They've done their best. I've lived before this for three days without food, and I can live that many more if necessary, and I want to announce to the general, and I think I am expressing the sentiment of this crowd, that we think you're all right. There's not a man here that will disgrace either you or the cause." At the conclusion of the speaker's remarks three cheers were given for him and for the general of the army.

The committee having in charge the preparation of the banners to be carried by the Commonwealth on its march to Washington reported an agreement upon white triangular streamers bearing the following inscriptions: "Commonweal," "An Injury to One is the Concern of All," "Do Unto Others as You Would that Others Should Do Unto You," "Inasmuch as Ye Do It Unto One of the Least of These, Ye Do It Also Unto Me," "Let no Man Call God His Father Who Calls Not Man His Brother."

Later in the day General Randall issued the following general order: "After you start on the march to Washington, you will have left on a mission of peace. Peace, work, and prosperity; that is what we ask, and a chance for the man of nerve and brain to earn a living. Any man who, while we are here, violates this peace principle and causes any disturbance will be turned over to the police. Neither will we tolerate any mutiny among the officers. Any one offending in this particular will be promptly court-martialed."

The reading of this gave general satisfaction, as many of the men expressed their desire to see the body kept under strict discipline and free from all disturbing or lawless elements.

Up to this time there had been a scarcity of cups, but by some good fortune one of the men found nearly a hundred empty fruit and tomato cans. These were set one end on a glowing bed of coals and the lid melted off; then with ashes from the big fireplace they were scoured and polished until they made very neat and convenient drinking cups.

The Coxey followers fully appreciated the importance of missionary work, and displayed all the zeal of neophytes in their propaganda of faith. Individuals are reasoned with and persuaded of its merits from the standpoint of the workers, and many have been converted in this way to belief in the efficacy of the "On to Washington" movement. At the same time they realize the value of printer's ink, as the following advertisement clipped from a Chicago daily paper clearly shows:

WANTED—ALL PERSONS INTERESTED
in the Coxey movement to meet 199 Randolph st. to-night.

Those responding to the invitation and ripe for the crusade were promptly enlisted, while those that required reasoning with found earnest and ready speakers, who were glad to lay before them the promises held out by Coxey of success.

Wednesday, the 25th of April, was wash-day for a great many of the men at the barracks, and, as a result, they went about with coats buttoned up closely, and to their throats. The big hoop tanks were filled with water. Some thoughtful citizen had already donated a box of soap, and the business began. But the way the men went about their laundrying would have set the average housewife crazy. They tugged and struggled with the clothes, wrung them out, rinsed them and then repeated the whole washing process over again. Three men joined issues and used a large tea-kettle for a wash-boiler. Two of the men first rubbed their underclothes thoroughly and then they placed them in the kettle full of water and started a fire under the kettle. The third man was invited to join issues, but he didn't "rub" his shirt first, and a slight altercation arose, but this was settled amicably. Nearby this company an old man was watching his socks "come

to a boil," and another man was stirring up the fire under his blue shirt.

By the middle of the afternoon there was a decided improvement in the appearance of the crusaders, and then came tonsorial exercises. There were five razors, in the hands of as many operators, going at once. One of the men had found a new finger-brush. With this and a piece of soap and a broken mineral-water bottle he made his lather. The shave was not always "close" and sometimes the victim cried that "it hurt," but that didn't worry the barber.

Later in the day the shop was partitioned off into company quarters. After that the men took more pride in their room and they swept it up carefully. Trouble between Companies C and F was narrowly averted when a member of the latter carried off a plank-bed from the quarters of the former. Early in the morning, when it was discovered that one of the men had stolen an undershirt, he was found out and immediately "fired" from the camp.

Army discipline was declared Wednesday, the 25th, by the commanding officer, and it went into force at once. In the afternoon the recruits were ordered out for drill in the yard surrounding the barracks. The attempts to "form a line," "right dress," and "about face," were more than ludicrous; but the drill masters were patient and good-natured and very fair progress was made, after all.

The recruits were organized into two new companies, officered as follows:

Company D—Captain, Samuel Darnell; first lieutenant, Edward Dunphy; second lieutenant, George Lorenz; first sergeant, G. H. Sylvester; second sergeant, Martin Regan; third sergeant, Thomas Kelly; fourth sergeant, Otto Kestern; captain's clerk, J. Clark; corporals, William Fisher, James Sullivan, Thomas Ryan, John Trimons, J. L. Ryan, Theodore Steuffer and John Weston.

Company E—Captain, Frank Hart; first lieutenant, John Brown; second lieutenant, John Myron; first sergeant, C. Clancey, second sergeant, P. Devlin; third sergeant, C. Wilson; fourth sergeant, F. Heart; captain's clerk, John Dimmon; corporals, C. Maybank, J. G. Cooks, C. Leavitt, P. Hill, William Simmons, R. Dunmore, H. Brackett and G. Lesley.

General Randall also made the following additional appoint-

ments on his staff: Major, Thomas Flynn; sergeant-major, Henry J. Holmes; quartermaster, W. J. Howard.

When 6 o'clock came, fires were again lighted in the huge fireplaces, and the men gathered about them for a quiet, social time. By 10 all had retired, and the great floor was thickly covered with men, sleeping soundly on its clean but hard planked surface.

CHAPTER XXVI.

A DAY WITH RANDALL'S MEN.

The life of the Commonwealers in Chicago, on the eve of starting out on the thousand-mile journey to Washington, is a merry one, as all outward indications show. The supply of provisions, which was somewhat short at the outset, soon began to be generous, and bids fair to be continuous in ample quantities. On Thursday an official song was announced, and the Commonweal Glee Club of four men, assisted by four others, came bashfully to the front to render it. Their leader said he did not court notoriety, but they would favor the committee with the song, and, to the air of "There is a Royal Banner," sang with earnestness the following, which has been approved by the commander:

There's a spotless banner given for display
To the workers of the land.
As an ensign fair we lift it up today,
While as loyal men we stand.

CHORUS.

Marching on! Marching on!
For work we pray
Both night and day,
For Labor's King we shout and sing.

As by our flag we stand,
Though the foe may rage and gather as a flood,
Let our standard be displayed,
And beneath its folds
Our forces are arrayed,
And we shall not be dismayed.
We have justice on our side and will not be denied
A hearing in this land
The "pluts" so long denied,
And our rights they have decried,
So we're joining Coxey's band.

The song was received with cheers and then Maudie Randall, the sixteen year old daughter of the commander, sang "Home, Sweet Home," the men joining in the chorus.

The life of a day in the barracks shows a number of interesting features, and shows that the men are fully determined to accept in ready cheerfulness whatever is before them. Thursday dawned bright and beautiful, and the men arose with smiling faces. There was a scant supply of rations, but before night the word "pot-luck," which has been a synonym for slim fare, changed to a meaning of great plenty. Some of the hungry Commonwealers had more to eat yesterday than they have had for a year, if they can be believed. At 8 o'clock the provisions began to pour in and by nightfall the Commonweal had everything from split peas and sardines to sausage and mutton stew. Commander Randall was in high feather and the camp ground was filled with new recruits. At 6 o'clock the enrollment stood eight hundred and seventy-eight, while eight companies had been organized with an aggregate of five hundred men.

A number of barbers who have joined the cause were busy during the forenoon, and before supper was served there was not in all the five hundred men a dozen who were not neatly shaved. It was a gala day, made joyful by continual announcements of food, and in the afternoon a reception was granted to the Woman's Auxiliary Committee, which has been foraging in the interests of the army. The only thing that marred the day's festivities was a speech by Lucy Parsons, who delivered one of her characteristic harangues, she having sprung the talk upon the men before General Randall could interfere. The latter was greatly annoyed, as he is opposed to Lucy and all anarchistic doctrines. If sympathetic people continue to furnish supplies the departure of the army may be prolonged, but the commander desires to get away early next week. He would go sooner if transportation was offered or if he could be assured that the men would find places for shelter. The Chicago Commonweal is woefully lacking in camp equipments. It has but few cooking utensils, is without a tent, has but a hazy promise of commissary wagons, and the commander-in-chief is without a horse. All these things are necessary before the enthusiastic Commonwealers can feel they are ready to march.

RECEPTION TO THE WOMEN.

The event of the day came about when the Women's Committee was given a reception. The members, including Mrs. Fannie Kavanagh, Mrs. Lucy Parsons, Mrs. Epstein, Miss Eidlestadt and Mrs. Weeks, arrived at the barracks early in the afternoon. They went through the works, commented on various features, and cheered up the men. Supper time rolled around near 5 o'clock, and then the best meal the army has eaten was served. Each company repaired to its own quarters and formed in a single line. Every man was supplied with a tin can, which had been polished up for use as a drinking cup. Then a big steamer of coffee was brought to the head of the company, and to each was given a pint of hot Java. Other good things were served, forming the following menu: Mutton broth, sausage, bread and butter. The sardines were reserved for the commissary department. The sausages, especially, were of generous size, being six inches long and three inches thick, but they disappeared like flakes of snow on the surface of a pond. The eating was a kind of mechanical process. Everything went with regular and rapid movement.

After the feast a grand assembly of the companies was ordered. The Commonwealers were in excellent humor after their good dinner, and they tumbled down from the second story of the barracks to the little court-yard. It took half a dozen captains, with Commander Randall high up on the stairway, to properly mass the forces. The irregular metes and bounds of the drill-yard was the cause of trouble. There were large barrels and piles of scrap iron that had to be taken into consideration, but the "'Wealers," eight men deep, formed a triangular hollow. The Woman's Committee, which had found convenient seats on ladders and against the side of the fence, stood up in line when commander Randall addressed the men. He said if the cause of the Commonweal had a place anywhere, it was in the hearts of the women—the mothers of the children. He asked the men to properly salute the committee which had done so much to serve them. There were three cheers given with all the vigor that the five hundred men possessed.

Mrs. Kavanagh, chairman of the committee, said to the men: "We will stay with you to the last, whether it is a week, a month, or a century. We feel you are moving in the right direction."

Mrs. Roberts, another member of the committee, supplemented the chairman's speech, telling the men to keep on until they reached Washington. She thought Coxey's appeal to the Government for one dollar and fifty cents a day for wage-earners was as little as could be asked. Miss Epstein, another member, told the men not to get fooled, after they got to Washington, by the capitalists there, but secure what they went for. Mrs. Randall was received with loud cheering and greeted the men as gentlemen and brothers, adding a few words of the same tenor as previous speakers.

LUCY PARSON'S SPEECH.

With these short talks Commander Randall expected to close the proceedings. Not so, however. Some of the men recognized Lucy Parsons. They yelled for her and she promptly came to the front. The commander was taken by surprise, and he did not have time to think before the voluble Lucy was at it. He removed his hat and fingered it nervously, meanwhile noting the effect of her words upon the men. Mrs. Parsons told them, among other things, that they were belched up from the hearts of the people and indicated a condition. They were incorruptible, she said, and they were going to Washington to present in person their petition. They knew, she added, that when Wall street railway-wreckers and billionaires wanted anything from the National Government, they got it. She told them they weren't going down there for a miserable dollar and a half a day, but they should demand sufficient money to educate their children. Inasmuch as they had built America; they deserved the good things of the earth. She recalled that they must be tired sweeping Chicago streets for bad soup. She had much more to say on the same lines and Commander Randall was much relieved when she retired to a position adjacent to the fence. He lost no time in stepping forward and telling the men that the speeches were at an end and that he would permit no more. "I will lead nothing but a peace movement," he said, "and we will stick to our text. I have not organized you to pursue any policy indicative of force, and the man who does not want to march under the Coxey banner cannot remain a part of this cause." "Rally 'Round the Flag, Boys," followed.

The barracks are proving an attractive field for ministers. Five of them visited the place yesterday looking for material for

sermons. They talked with Commander Randall and the men and tarried a long time. Professor Hourwich, of the Chicago University, was also a visitor, looking for statistics with reference to the condition of labor. He was much interested in the doings of the men. Walter Thomas Mills was another visitor.

DETECTIVES IN THE ARMY.

The Central Station has transferred a number of its World's Fair detectives to the barracks, where they are disguising themselves in old clothes and joining the company. It is not hard to discover them, however, for they insist that they are out of work and at the same time smoke meerschaum pipes and wear yachting caps. They have a cunning look and are inclined to be attending to the business of every company in such an interested manner, not for the purpose of work, but for information. They do not make excellent officers, although one of them is a captain of a company and two or three others are sergeants. General Randall says he does not care anything about the detectives so long as they behave themselves. A bugler from the Regular Army turned up in camp. His name is Charles Pitcher, and he has just completed a five years' enlistment in "F" Troop, Eighth Cavalry, Fort Yates, N. D. He says he was en route to New York to join a circus, but found he could not get there in time. He rigged himself out with a white cord along his trousers and coat, and with his bugle was the most prominent man in camp. He also wore a pair of gloves. A drummer in the person of Charles Schmidt, of Englewood, was also discovered. He used to belong to a band in Bavaria. He has sent his wife to dwell with her mother while he joins the army on its march to Washington. Another quaint character who turned up was Mike Flynn. Michael says he hails from Cork. He was found nestled in a corner of the court reading Lord Lytton's "The Coming Race." Big words had no terrors for him, and when accosted he was reading about Etruscan vases. His ideas differed from Commander Randall's in that he believes every man ought to be furnished with a revolver and ammunition.

Commander Randall said at night, with reference to the time he will start on his journey: "It depends on certain contingencies. I shall certainly start not later than Tuesday, and I hope to get away Monday; but I can't leave until the men have some blankets, as there is no assurance that the weather is settled suf-

ficiently for men to sleep on the ground. My first stop will be at Grand Crossing. I would like to move Sunday, but I don't see how I can do it." Dr. Grier, of the Executive Committee, said that Commander Randall would be furnished with a horse.

The commander posted General Order No. 2, relating to camp regulations. One clause read: "No man who exhibits the effects of liquor will be allowed to remain in the camp." Another order was that begging will, under no circumstances, be permitted. In view of the fact that the small-pox is so prevalent, Health Commissioner Reynolds has decided to vaccinate Randall's men.

General Randall issued his first order Thursday, and was favorably received by his men. It read as follows:

"The officers elected in the order of their rank must have roll-call every morning when the men arise and if there are any sick have them report to the hospital department; also have roll-call every evening. These roll-calls should precede the morning and evening meals. The number of men present in each company should be reported to the quartermaster. This is imperatively necessary to insure the proper division of food on hand, and also that knowledge may be had of the condition of the men. Each set of company officers should take particular pains to inspect their men and ascertain what is most needed in the way of clothing.

"The officers must drill their companies in facings and steps every day at such time as each company in turn may have the yard. Companies having in their ranks competent men to drill them may select the same for that purpose, the men so chosen having charge, one for each company, of the company drill subject to instructions of the drill master general. Every company and appointed staff officer found incompetent to discharge his duties must resign and give place to a competent man, the will of the company being consulted with reference to the company officials and the commander and his staff with reference to appointive officers.

"No man under the influence of liquor will be allowed in the camp."

The effect of military discipline showed itself early among the men. One of the lieutenants was gaudily decorated with shoulder straps, made of gilt paper, almost immediately after the first general order was issued. Nearly all the sergeants were decorated

with white stripes and chevrons made from an old handkerchief. While the bugler, in a plain homespun suit, was resplendent in the regalia that he had sewn upon it. Two broad, white stripes decorated each trousers leg, a small bugle was sewn on his coat sleeve, and his hat was decorated with a broad, white cord, tied in front into a small knot. He managed to make the building resound with the various military calls, at the same time explaining what they meant, and on the arrival of the general, became a self-constituted aid-de-camp, and escorted the commanding officer through the institution.

Gus Peters was drummed out of camp Thursday. He was a disturbing element in company A from the day of his enlistment. On this day his actions became too noisy to be tolerated, and the captain reported to headquarters for instructions. Randall immediately ordered him out of the barracks, and a sergeant was detailed to execute the command. At first Peters tried to evade the guard. He was caught in the yard, however, and ejected with no more ceremony than a parting kick.

Recruits are expected in considerable numbers from Racine, Jerry Sullivan having announced that he expects to show up with at least one thousand men, who are well-drilled and disciplined and otherwise prepared to make the long journey.

The executive committee successfully carried out its design of holding a big mass meeting in Turner Hall, on West Twelfth street on Friday night, the attendance being very large and the enthusiasm great. The glee club of the Commonweal sang a number of songs, and Mrs. J. E. Fleury recited an original poem. James R. Sovereign, president of the Knights of Labor, General Randall, Thomas J. Morgan, and others delivered spirited addresses, and the meeting resulted in added recruits to the army.

General Randall is gradually tightening the reins as he pushes forward his plans. He has not only roundly declared that no intemperance of speech shall be allowed, but that the men shall not spend their money for drink, or, indeed, indulge in intoxicants of any kind. He likewise declares his purpose to turn over violators of law to the constituted authorities and loses no opportunity for enforcing his position that as his mission is a peaceful one so all the doings of his men shall be pacific. Making allowance for defections of all kinds and exaggerations, the estimate made by the general and his lieutenants is that at least one thou-

sand will start out in the ranks on the first of the week for Washington.

While the recruits are of many nationalities, yet the native American predominates, and the general appearance of the body is good. Insistence is made that the men be cleanly in their habits, clean shaven and obedient. The readiness with which men step out of entire restraint into respectful compliance with orders that are military in character is plainly shown at the Chicago barracks. No murmurs are heard but all acquiesce in the existing conditions, as they humbly pledged themselves they would do. There appears to be an anxiety on the part of most of the men to be on the way, but this does not interfere with their apparent enjoyment of the present and a reconciliation with the fact that preparations must be completed before the beginning of the journey is made. Plans are being executed with rapidity, and the conditions are all favorable for a start under satisfactory auspices.

CHAPTER XXVII

DIFFERENT WESTERN MOVEMENTS.

From the beginning of the Commonweal movement, in the formation of small bands of recruits, California was particularly active and conspicuous. From the sections surrounding Los Angeles and Sacramento was gathered an aftermath of recruits such as few districts yielded. The latter division was under command of Colonel Inman, who succeeded Colonel Williams, its first leader. This change was effected by a popular vote of the Sacramento contingent. This addition to the Commonweal was one of the latest organized, having been formed during the latter part of April, on the 24th day of which it began its eastward march.

Under the title of the "Second Regiment of the Industrial Army," General Vinette organized, in Los Angeles, a band of one hundred and sixty-seven men, twenty-seven of whom were heads of families. Their first objective point was San Bernardino, where they hope to secure through transportation as far, at least, as Kansas City.

When, on April 2, this regiment started out of Los Angeles, the wives and children of many of the men accompanied them to the city limits and gave them hearty Godspeeds upon their long journey. This parting scene made a deep and unmistakable impression upon the entire company.

General Vidette's command was elected to suffer many hardships and delays. Four days were required to make the march to Riverside. The recruits which joined the force along the way brought the total roll up to two hundred men. Although the authorities in this section gave them some little annoyance, they were permitted peaceably to pass on condition that they should push forward with all possible haste. At San Bernardino their first serious trials began. The fire department of this inhospitable city was called upon to drench the army with city water, and the order

was carried out with vigor. Next a posse of fifty deputy sheriffs, armed with shotguns, marched the leaders to jail. The oppressiveness of the citizens being still unsatisfied, a boycott was declared and a public committee selected to enforce it. One baker, however, had the hardihood to sell the army \$7 worth of bread, which was distributed among those who most needed it.

The stay of the army here was prolonged rather than shortened by these harassing measures. By April 22, the Second Regiment, as it is generally called, had only proceeded as far as Colton, Cal.

At this point its numbers had increased to two hundred and fifty. The citizens here called a mass-meeting and petitioned Governor Markham to instruct the boards of supervisors of the state to give public employment to such of the industrial army, within their respective counties, as were able to work; to send the destitute and ill to the poorhouses, and put those who declined the proffered labor to work in the chain gangs.

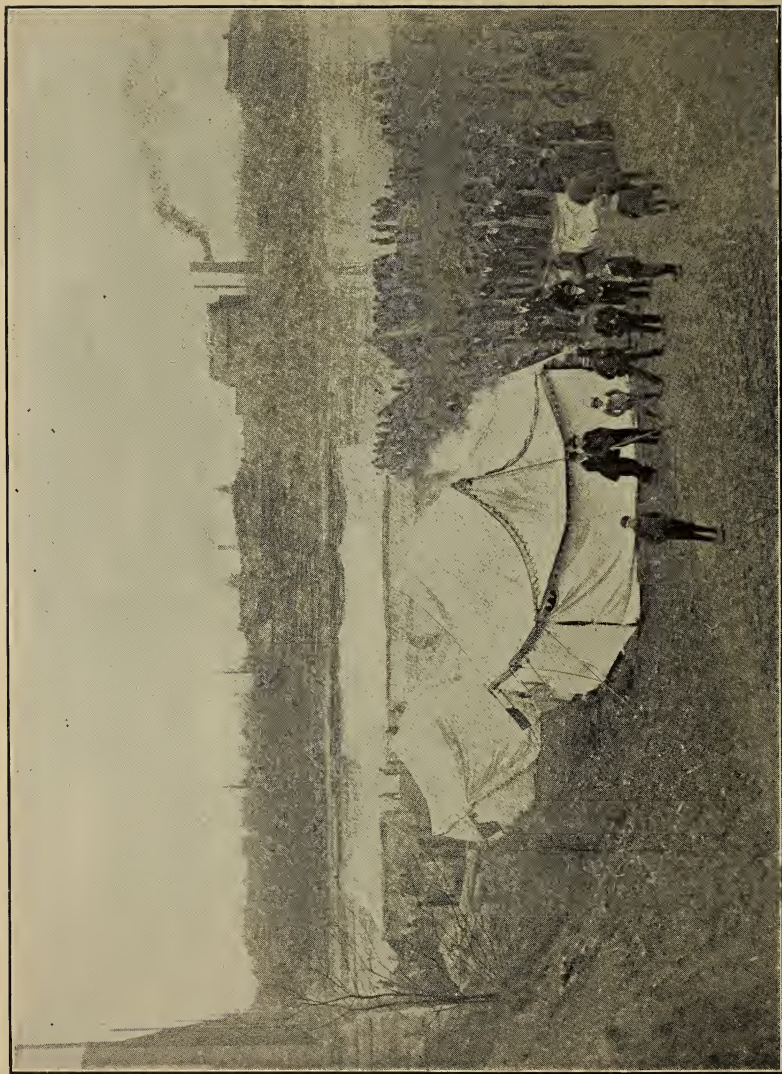
One of San Francisco's contributions to the industrial army was formed April 2, and numbered over four hundred determined and orderly men. The city gave them \$25 with which to secure transportation to Oakland. The number of industrial recruits encamped in this fashionable suburb of San Francisco was, April 22, fully eight hundred and fifty men and four women. They were well clothed and provisioned, and started eastward in full confidence that the Southern Pacific railway would soon grant their request for passage over that line.

The interest taken by the women of Oakland in the Commonwealth movement was, perhaps, greater than that recorded of any other city. Here two hundred women signed a recruiting list which provided for their immediate passage, by rail, to Washington City.

The northern extreme of the Pacific coast has not been behind the region of the Golden Gate in the industrial uprising. At Seattle, Wash., the number of men enrolled and ready to begin the long journey to the Nation's Capitol, was, on April 23, fully nine hundred and fifty and new recruits were rapidly pressing into the ranks. This regiment is under the command of General Shepherd, a trusted and respected citizen of Washington. Its members were, almost to a man, hearty and stalwart fellows, accustomed to outdoor hardships and fatigues. Forced marches,



ENTERING AVOCA.



FRY'S ARMY IN CAMP ACROSS RIVER FROM TERRE HAUTE, IND.

short rations and the vicissitudes of weather held small terror for these robust men of the great northwestern lumber state.

Their loyalty to organized labor may be judged from the fact that, in anticipation of the probability that they would be offered work on the Great Northern railroad, in place of its striking operatives, a resolution was adopted to the effect, that the Army would uphold the American Railway Union, and that any member of the Commonwealth reporting for work on a road where that union had declared a strike would be dishonorably discharged. The feeling of the citizens of Seattle toward General Shepherd's forces was shown by the fact that a public ball, for the benefit of the regiment, netted two hundred and forty dollars, and a generous sum, to be used for transportation, was raised by a private subscription.

In Butte, Mont., and its tributary country a division about one-half the size of the Seattle regiment was raised, despite the desperate opposition of the powerful railway interests which, for many days, kept the little army of determined men under the surveillance of one hundred deputy United States Marshals and a large body of troops. This was placed in command of General Hogan. The reason given by the railroads for not allowing the men to purchase transportation was the fear of being held to account for the violation of Minnesota statutes forbidding the importation of indigents into its limits. The leaders continued to urge the railway officials to reconsider this decision, but were met with repeated and unvarying denial.

As the army contains many practical railroad men it was finally decided, on the evening of April 23, to make a last final effort to secure favorable action by the officials of the road. This was refused, and in their desperation the railway operatives of the army took possession of an engine in the Northern Pacific roundhouse coupled on to a train of freight cars and started eastward, arriving at Bozeman at 5:30 the following morning. Here they not only received many recruits and an enthusiastic welcome, but were also presented with three tons of flour and beef. Information that a portion of the tunnel had caved in held the industrial train at Bozeman for several hours, but General Hogan finally determined to push forward. The train found a clear track to the eastern extremity of the tunnel. Here their way was blocked by a high bank of earth. The men found the shovels

which had been left by the track laborers, and in six hours the obstruction was removed and they were again en route and making good time. Livingston was reached at 7 o'clock, and the Commonwealth train still held the right of way.

The following telegram from Judge Henry C. Caldwell was received by United States Marshal J. S. Cremen, at Fargo, N. D., in advance of the arrival of General Hogan's train:

"If the persons who forcibly and illegally seized a train of cars on the Northern Pacific railroad, in Montana, belonging to the receivers of said road, should bring the same into your district, it will be your duty to seize the same and restore the possession thereof to the receivers. It will be your duty to summon a posse sufficient for this purpose. The Attorney-General of the United States has been requested to procure a direction to the General commanding the department to render you any assistance necessary."

A small band of recruits from different sections of Minnesota awaited the arrival of the Butte train at Little Falls, Minn.

Colorado is another state which was very active in the recruiting field. The number of men enrolled by Captain Grayson, at Denver, April 14, was two hundred. At Platteville, on the evening of April 20, a portion of Captain Grayson's contingent came in contact with a body of deputies, but no serious trouble resulted. As they were not allowed to procure transportation they were obliged to continue on foot, reaching Greeley, Colo., April 24.

Hearty expressions of sympathy, as well as substantial assistance and new recruits, were met with on every hand.

Colorado was the first state to organize what is termed "The Home Reserves," for the purpose of forming a permanent source of assistance to the army. This organization has enrolled several thousand members in Denver alone, and its efforts to aid the Colorado forces met with much success.

In the vicinity of Reno, Nev., a considerable body of recruits was organized early in April. Its progress was beset by many obstacles, and particularly by the injunction of the courts of Utah forbidding the army to enter the Mormon territory. This, however, did not dismay the Nevada men, who persisted in pressing forward, holding that their right to peaceably pass through any state or territory was fully guaranteed by the constitution.

Col. Ralph Beaumont, the well-known Knights of Labor

lecturer, organized a reinforcement company at Oklahoma City. Its numbers had, April 24, reached over one hundred and fifty. A similar movement was successfully undertaken at Guthrie, Oklahoma. These two forces were consolidated.

One of the latest Missourians to organize sympathizers with the Commonwealth cause in his state was Charles J. Johnson, of Kansas City, whose enrollment list reached very respectable proportions. Mr. Johnson was head waiter in a restaurant.

The vicinity of Birmingham, Ala., has also proved itself to be a recruiting point of considerable importance. John C. Townley entered this field in March and distributed a large amount of literature through this entire section. The result was that several small parties went forward from different points in Northern Alabama to join the main columns on the march in the north.

In Wisconsin the agitation began at Milwaukee, Henry Holsman, a former member of the German Army, being the principal leader. In spite of discouragement from Robert Schilling and other labor leaders in the Cream City, Holsman persevered and succeeded in raising a considerable detachment. Another recruiting center in Wisconsin was Chippewa Falls. Here the untiring efforts of Fred Norman resulted in the organization of a company of over one hundred volunteers for the Commonwealth army.

Grand Rapids, Mich., was among the last cities of that state to contribute a considerable company of recruits. Professor Carty, the publisher of a phrenological journal, was the principal organizer at this point. He has also enlisted many followers in Toledo, Ohio.

CHAPTER XXVIII

AUXILIARY MOVEMENTS IN THE EAST.

The Boston division of the Commonweal army gathered at Equity Union Hall, in that city, at 2 o'clock Sunday, April 22, and under command of General Fitzgerald and Morrison I. Swift, President of the Boston Equity Union, began one of the most remarkable parades ever known in that city. The members of this branch of the Commonweal's forces, who numbered several hundred, presented a most unusual appearance for a distinctively laboringman's gathering. Their clothes were neat and clean, and many of them might have been classed as fashionable. Derby hats, negligè shirts and neckties were so common in the ranks as to be almost the rule.

General Fitzgerald, followed by Swift, O'Neil, Taylor and other Boston labor men led the column down Washington street to Hollis. Immediately behind the officers was a standard bearer who carried a banner upon which were displayed Lincoln's words: "When corporations are enthroned, the wealth is in the hands of a few and the republic will fall." The other side of the banner bore this inscription: "To save the republic let the people own monopoly industries."

When the column reached Tremont street they were surprised by the sight of not less than ten thousand citizens who had gathered in the historic common to see and hear Boston's contribution to General Coxey's army. The shout which greeted the marchers was a hearty one. An opening was made to allow the column to reach the band stand. Morrison Swift attempted to mount this structure for the purpose of delivering an address, but was stopped by a policeman and informed that this was against the municipal law. A temporary platform was then erected, and Mr. Swift again attempted to speak to the crowd. The general confusion and the cries of pain from men, women and children, who were being pressed against the barbed wire fence made it impossible for him to be heard.

When at last partial quiet had been restored, Mr. Swift said "Will you all stand by us in this fight?" A tremendous chorus of affirmative answers followed quick upon his question.

He then called upon every man within hearing of his voice to lay the blame where it belonged whenever the Commonwealth movement was made a subject of ridicule.

"Such attacks," he said, "come only from the enemies of labor, the monopolists. Railroads, telegraphs, mines and telephones should be operated by the people."

Some of the crowd then made an attack upon the bearer of the banner, and the standard was soon torn into fragments.

When order was again restored Mr. Swift read the following letter, addressed to President Cleveland:

"The custom is an old one of resorting to a liberal use of bullets to check the rising desire of starving persons for food and work. No republic can follow this custom long and live. We are sending a delegation to represent the unemployed thousands in New England. Perhaps, here have the poor suffered more excessively, and with less extenuation than in Boston. We should be sorry to have our deputation thrown into prison, or slain by official edict, while exercising their constitutional liberty to petition. It would not increase the public tranquillity, already disturbed by many threatened circumstances. The truth is, before tranquillity is restored there will have to be a readjustment of the wealth conditions. You may not realize that the case is grave. When have American citizens starved in this manner before?

You, as President, can oppose the reckless tendency to further exasperate the people by treating their representatives with brutality. You can give your support to enactments which look toward a restoration to the people of the wealth which they have been defrauded of by monopoly and privilege. You can endeavor to have the people provided with proper food while in Washington, and granted an opportunity to present their petitions in an orderly body at the Capitol building. We, who remain at home as unemployed—and their sympathizers number many thousands—will await your action attentively."

It was approved and ordered mailed.

Miss Charlotte Smith, of the Woman's Rescue League, then mounted a dry-goods box and began to speak. The crowd instantly rushed upon her, carrying her from the platform amid

the yells of thousands. Someone placed in her hand a heavy cane, with which she managed, for a few moments, to keep back her assailants. At this fortunate moment a squad of policemen made their way through the crowd and took Miss Smith to a place of safety.

Another banner bearing the inscription, "Objects—Industry Morality, Justice," was seized by the crowd and speedily demolished. The next object of attack was Lucian Saniel, who was recognized as a labor speaker of New York city. He was crowded against the barbed wire fence, but finally succeeded in making his escape.

The excited spectators then made a rush upon the members of the Commonwealth, who were crowded about the band stand. The scene which followed was one of the most exciting that Boston has witnessed in recent years. It was only by the timely command of Morrison Swift, who ordered the members of the industrial army to disperse, that serious violence was avoided.

At night a large number of the Commonwealthers gathered in Hyde Park common. Here the police attempted to disperse them, but, failing to succeed in this, turned out the electric lights and left them to camp in darkness.

At an early hour some three hundred of the army rallied for the march to Deadham and spent the following night in the public hall, which was placed at their disposal.

Through the efforts of Geo. W. Sweetland a large company was organized at Bristol, Connecticut, which consolidated with the general New England army. At Bridgeport another imposing division was organized, through individual work and advertisements in the newspapers. A considerable number of women joined the ranks at this place.

Enlistments in Philadelphia and Eastern Pennsylvania began early in March through the efforts of Marshal Christopher Columbus Jones. He succeeded in mustering a large following. Among those who came to his standard were 100 students of the Lehigh University, at Bethlehem, Pa. These recruits included two of the professors of that institution, who declared that the movement was in the interest of freedom and equality, and would tend to further the speedy realization of those principles.

Marshal Jones left Philadelphia April 12, and reached Wilmington, Del., April 14. Here state detectives notified him tha

unless they broke camp at 2 o'clock in the morning and marched immediately to Maryland they would be placed under arrest. Several of the more faint-hearted recruits deserted the ranks upon hearing this. The remainder, with their commander, were taken by the police and placed in jail as vagrants. They were, however, soon released. From Wilmington they pushed on at once, reaching Newport, Del., April 16. Here they were provided with food and other comforts by the people. On their way to Newark they were reinforced by some fifty new recruits.

Division Marshal Clinton, who had been pushing the work of organization in the northern part of Maryland, reached Baltimore April 22, and from there went forward to join the main force under command of Marshal Jones.

In Southern Ohio Colonel Galvin organized a force of between two and three hundred men, which left Cincinnati April 20, and reached Wilmington, Ohio, April 23. Here they were given the hospitality of the fair grounds, and made themselves comfortable in the stalls provided for the trotting horses. The citizens of Wilmington were liberal in their donations of supplies, but, as the railroad refused to carry the army, the column was obliged to march on eastward.

CHAPTER XXIX.

EXCITEMENT ALONG THE OUTPOSTS.

A small contingent boarded a passenger train between Billings and Stillwater, but when it heard of the capture at this place took to the woods and made its escape, not being pursued by the authorities.

The entire Montana contingent of the army, except about two hundred and fifty who escaped to the open country when the Regulars surprised them at Forsyth, and those who dropped off at Bozeman and Billings, were held by United States troops. The great question was what to do with the three hundred and twenty men who did not get away. Northern Pacific attorneys were in consultation with Federal Judge Knowles all day April 26, and in telegraphic communication with the general counsel of the road in New York. The opinion of everybody in the west was that to return the men to Butte would be inadvisable. Judge Knowles advised that the leaders of the army be taken to Helena and the others turned loose. Counsel in New York, however, insisted that all should be brought back to Butte. It is expected that the men will be brought before Judge Knowles, of the United States Court in Helena, for contempt in taking property from the possession of receivers who are officers of the court. The militia, which had been under arms all over the state, was dismissed, as the Government took the matter in charge.

The Commonwealers were ridiculously poorly armed, only three revolvers being found. Three of the men were found to be slightly wounded, their injuries having been received in the skirmish at Billings.

The troops at Vancouver barracks received orders on the night of April 26 to proceed to Puyallup, on the line of the Northern Pacific road, the officials of the road expecting the Industrial Army of the Northwest, under command of Shepard, to carry out its threat to seize a train at that place.

As soon as the news reached Portland, Ore., city attorneys for the Union Pacific applied to Judge Bellinger, of the United States District Court, for an injunction restraining the army from interfering with the company's property. United States Marshal Grady left at 2 o'clock on a special train for Troutdale, where he served the order on General Shepard, leader of the army. Late in the afternoon Sheriff Kelly requested Governor Pennoyer to order the militia to Troutdale, but the Governor refused to comply.

At Tacoma, Wash., April 26, the state militiamen were ordered to their armories and held in readiness to march at a moment's notice, to protect the property of citizens against the marching industrial armies. A special train was provided immediately by the Northern Pacific, and held in readiness to carry the troops to any point on the line.

About fifty deputy marshals were sworn in, in compliance with orders from the court. Fourteen were sent to Meeker Junction, and the rest placed about the depot and at the car shops.

In view of reports from Idaho that a Coxe army was organizing in the Cœur d'Alene mining district, in the northern part of the state of Idaho, and that an attempt would be made to seize a train, Attorney-General Olney, after a conference with Senator Dubois, sent a telegram to the United States Marshal of Idaho similar in character to those sent to the marshals of Montana. He was instructed to prevent any unlawful seizure of trains, and to swear in as many deputy marshals as might be necessary to assist him. In case of his inability to prevent violations of the law, he was directed to telegraph the facts to the President and ask the assistance of the United States troops.

The advance guard of the industrial army which had been vainly endeavoring to work eastward from Portland for several days past, reached Troutdale, April 26, and with little or no demonstration went into camp, with the purpose, it was supposed, of capturing the early freight which passed through over the line of the Northern Pacific at 9 o'clock. In the morning the leaders determined to assume an aggressive attitude, and at 9 o'clock they took possession of the railroad depot and installed one of their men as operator to ascertain how the trains were being dispatched. The regular night operator made his escape, however, and rode to Fairview, a few miles distant, and reported the situation to the Company's officials. At 2 o'clock the United States Marshal, and

several deputies came out from Portland on a special train, and served an injunction issued by the United States District Court. Before the arrival of the officers, however, the army abandoned the station.

Upon arrival all the deputies were stationed around the depot and the army camped in the center of the town. All had their blankets strapped and it was evident that some move was contemplated. The officers were extremely reticent, and beyond the bare statement that they were prepared to resist further encroachment of the army they would say nothing. The sheriff of the county was on the scene with a large force of deputies, and inasmuch as Governor Pennoyer refused to order out the militia until actual trouble commences, it seemed probable the army may take advantage of the situation and capture the freight. Several companies of the National Guard were held under waiting orders at the armory, and Adjutant-General Mitchell had instructions from the governor to send them to the scene of the trouble at the first sign of open warfare. From indications it appeared probable that the army leaders might march farther eastward before morning and attempt the capture of a train at some smaller station on the line of the road.

On April 26 the Tacoma contingent of the Industrial Army announced that it would start at once on its long tramp. Marshal Drake sent deputy marshals to Seattle to reinforce those already there. Three thousand Coxeyites were concentrated at Hoker Junction, ninety miles east of Tacoma, by the following Sunday.

From Oklahoma City, O. T., the following dispatch was sent to General Coxey under date of April 26: Detachment of the Commonwealth Army, about seven hundred strong, is organized in this territory, principally at Guthrie and Oklahoma City, drilled in military form and ready to join your command. Railroad officials have refused transportation of any kind. Meetings are held every night. Great enthusiasm is prevailing with popular approval. Organization will be maintained subject to your advice and orders."

Throughout the entire territory of Oklahoma the movement gained in volume with wonderful rapidity. At El Reno an army of seven hundred men was organized to move on to Washington and join the clamor for a change. Most of this division of the army were prosperous men in various walks of life, who allied

themselves with the movement as an index of their dissatisfaction with the existing order of things commercial.

In Colorado the populace was perhaps as responsive to the cry of "On to Washington" as were the people of any state or territory. At Crested Butte, April 26, a meeting of citizens was held, at which one hundred and fifty persons signed articles indorsing the Coxey movement and organizing a division of Coxey's army.

A legion of Coxey's Industrial Army was also organized in Cripple Creek, April 27, fifty men subscribing to the roll. S. S. Sanders, late of San Francisco, a personal friend of Kelly, was present in command. He said that he expected to leave this city within a week with at least three hundred men. General Sanders is a fine specimen of manhood, has a soldier-like bearing, and is fairly educated.

Many recruits joined General Grayson's division of the army, as it made its way from point to point in the state. By April 26 Grayson had reached Orchard. The citizens were not prepared to receive the industrials with any considerable amount of kindness, and the fear that the army would attempt to seize a train and precipitate a scene of violence caused great excitement in the place.

In St. Louis Gen. Joseph Meyer succeeded in raising a company of about one hundred men, which were ready to start as soon as the force should reach sufficient numbers. A large mass-meeting was one of the features of General Meyers' work here.

The agitation continued in other points, which had previously sent delegations. At Detroit, Mich., James Eldridge, of San Francisco, opened headquarters for recruiting a Coxey army in Detroit. He spoke before the Central Labor Union, explaining his plans in detail. He said he was one of the organizers of the San Francisco army. The labor union took action, indorsing the movement, and many recruits enlisted.

The movement continued to spread in the remote cities and villages of the northwest. A little company of ten organized in Eureka, McPherson County, S. D., purchased a team and wagon and started out to join the nearest division of the army. This is but one of thousands of such incidents in the history of the movement.

Up to the last moment Indiana continued to send scattering

bodies of recruits. At Hammond, Ind., the Northern Indiana Industrial Army affiliated with Coxey's Commonwealth and organized with nearly two hundred men. The detachment paraded the streets tonight, headed by a brass band and an escort of six horsemen.

The striking workmen in all parts of the country took a general interest in the Commonwealth. The striking upper rockmen at Ashland, Wis., were invited to join the Coxey army by Mayor Hubbel, unless they should consent to do something. They had not worked for a long time and their families were destitute. They petitioned for help and in answer to their call a committee was appointed to investigate the condition of affairs and endeavor to arrange a settlement; but the men said they would move out of the state rather than accept lower wages than \$1.50 for day and \$1.60 for night work. Then the mayor told them they had better join Coxey.

In regard to the attitude of labor toward the movement, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, said: "The working people are becoming convinced that it is the duty of a democratic government to see to it that every one of its citizens is given an opportunity to work. Coxeyism is becoming a great eye-opener to organized labor. The rich are becoming too overbearing, and with their trusts and syndicates they are squeezing the laboring classes a little too tight. It is no more than right that they should lend a little of their surplus wealth to the government, without interest, as a buffer to the startling condition of affairs brought about by the hard times. However, what I am angered most about, is the position some of the authorities have taken in attempting to intimidate the Coxeyites and induce them to return home. This is altogether too un-American to be thought of or tolerated for a moment. The Coxeyites have just as much right to petition Congress in a way that suits them as have any other honest and peaceable American citizens."

Mr. Gompers called attention to the following resolution adopted by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor:

"Resolved, That we do hereby most emphatically protest, in the name of labor and in the interest of American citizenship, against the threats of the authorities at Washington, D. C., to arrest and drive out people who may assemble at any time to in person peti-

tion the Congress of the United States for a redress of grievances. We insist that all people are entitled to a fair hearing by the Congress of the United States, and we insist that they shall be treated as law-abiding citizens."

The latest intelligence from Frye's Commonwealers indicates a decided predetermination on his part to attain the end he has had in view ever since he first decided upon reaching Washington was a "living petition." There was much excitement among citizens of Brazil, Ind., when his men mounted a freight train and announced their set purpose to reach Indianapolis in that way. No amount of persuasion or threats from the railroad officers could induce the Commonwealers to leave the cars, and finally the train pulled out and the army saluted the large crowd on the platform by waving flags and loudly cheering. It was a grotesque scene. The tops of the cars were literally covered with "soldiers."

They arrived at Indianapolis at 1 o'clock Thursday, numbering 269 men. Wednesday evening General Frye contracted with the railroad company to haul his horses and wagon and camp utensils to Indianapolis from Brazil. The next morning the baggage and eight horses and a wagon were loaded into a box car. When the car was coupled to a through freight train the Commonwealers climbed on the cars. The trainmen did not feel that it would be possible to put the men off, and they were permitted to ride to the city.

The army left the train at the Belt road and from there marched to the headquarters of General Aubrey in the vacant pork house in the western part of the city on the banks of White river. Local labor leaders were on hand to welcome the Commonwealers. After the men had been served with lunch from the stores of the Aubrey army they went to the river, where they washed their clothes and faces. They were then set to work clearing brush off a vacant lot near the river where they camped. General Frye went to the Circle hotel. The army, he declared, would remain until a way opens up for it to get out of the city. The army was not cordially received. Many influential citizens and the newspapers insisted that the leaders in the army be arrested. They expressed the opinion that in this way the movement could be broken up.

General Frye and local representatives of the labor organizations called on Governor Matthews Thursday evening. They

were cordially received by the governor, who said he hoped the industrial army would receive good treatment while in Indiana. He said he believed the people of Indianapolis would keep the army in provisions while it remained. General Frye said he did not know when he would leave for Washington, and said he did not care, but thought he would remain at Indianapolis indefinitely and make speeches.

General Frye talked freely of his purposes and plans. Among other things he said:

"I will remain in Indianapolis with my men until I have perfected arrangements to move forward. I expect to get a number of recruits here. We are badly in need of shoes, clothes, and blankets. When we get to Washington I expect to see 1,000,000 people gathered there to work in our cause. We will lay our grievances before Congress and wait for their reply."

"Supposing, General Frye, that Congress will pay no heed to your resolutions, what will you do then?" was asked of him.

"I have no reason to anticipate that Congress will refuse to listen to us. I believe that it is an intelligent body of men, and as we are a committee to represent the people they will do what we ask."

When asked how the vast army would get out of Washington he merely replied: "We will cross no bridges before we reach them." He also added that in a short time the whole doings of the army would be published in book form. The army occupied a large tent, which he erected near a street car line, and charges ten cents admittance. Two hundred of Frye's army are men that enlisted with him at Los Angeles, but he has been gathering more men together all along the road, while about as many have dropped from the ranks and accepted positions.

Colonel Galvin, it is reported, with his four captains, left the Industrial Army at Washington, Ohio, Thursday, and openly disavowed the action of the Industrial Army of two hundred men at that point. The mayor ordered the army out of town and the members encamped two miles east of the place in waiting for the 4 a. m. Friday train east, which, report said, they intended to capture. The railroad company expressed a determined purpose to prevent this action. A force of twenty detectives and railroad officials was employed in watching the movements of the Commonwealers, and there was much anxiety among the people of

Washington as to the outcome of the matter. The prompt action of the government in arresting the band of Hogan in Montana for taking a railroad train had a deterrent effect, it is said, upon Galvin, who exhausted every possible argument in endeavor to dissuade the men from committing a similar breach of law. A late telegram from Columbus, Ohio, declares that the men finally listened to and obeyed Colonel Galvin, and that they were marching Thursday evening toward Columbus under his leadership, the night of that day being spent at Mount Sterling.

A northern Indiana Industrial Army, affiliated with Coxey's Commonwealth, was organized at Hammond, Ind., Thursday night, April 26, with nearly two hundred men. The detachment paraded the streets headed by a brass band and an escort of six horsemen. They expressed a purpose to leave for Washington Saturday morning. The movement at Hammond had been going on quietly but successfully for some time. The number of unemployed persons at that place is large, and but little difficulty was experienced in enlisting the desired number of recruits.

CHAPTER XXX.

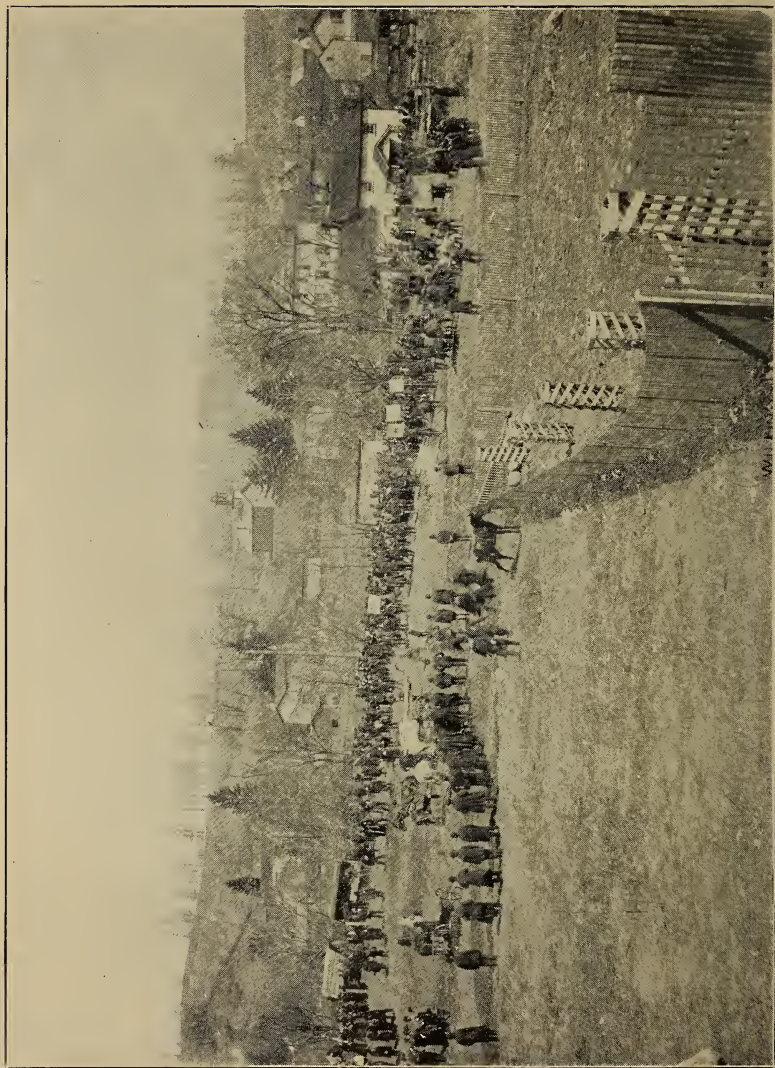
THE NORTHERN PACIFIC EPISODE.

The most unique and exciting episode in the entire history of the Commonweal movement was one which caused sincere and universal regret, not only on the part of all the real leaders of the army of peace, but also among all who were in touch with the spirit and purpose of the cause. The incident of the capture of a Northern Pacific train by the Montana contingent of recruits at Butte City, was openly referred to by the leaders and members of all other divisions of the Industrial Army as the one sad mistake of the movement, the record of which caused them no little sorrow.

The occurrence of this unpleasant feature in the march to Washington of the Northwestern army was due to peculiar circumstances, over which the original leaders and their principal aids could not, by any possible means, have exercised control. These potential circumstances were due, first, to the fact that the Montana contingent was so isolated not only from the main body of the army, but also from the centers of civilization, as to place it outside the circle of inspiration which moved those who were closer to its original source. Another important cause of the unfortunate results which followed lay in the personnel of the men who comprised the Montana division. These were principally miners, who had been long distressed from lack of employment, mountaineers who were unused to the conventionalities and restraints which characterize more thickly settled portions of the country, and a residue of shifting and restless men who always constitute what is known as the floating population of the mountainous mining country. The latter, beyond doubt, proved to be the most disturbing element, although the entire regiment which formed at Butte City seemed to fail, from the start, to grasp the fundamental principle that the Industrials were to be a peace army in fact as well as in name.



MISS HOOTEN AND MISS HARPER.



GEN. COXEY'S ARMY AT NEW WATERFORD, OHIO.

In accordance with the habit of their lives and traditions, after having exhausted all peaceable measures to induce the railway company to furnish them, for a money equivalent, transportation to the East, they resorted to force by taking from the round house at Butte, early on the morning of April 24th, a locomotive which was manned by experienced railroad men from among their number. This was attached to a train of empty freight cars in which the army, under command of General Hogan, placed themselves, for one of the most daring and exciting rides in all the history of rail-roading.

Division Superintendent Finn, of the Northern Pacific Road, was warned by General Hogan that the captive train would hold the right of way and that all other trains must govern themselves accordingly, which, of course, they proceeded to do.

The Northern Pacific being in the hands of the United States Court left no question as to Federal jurisdiction over it, and orders were at once issued by Judge Caldwell, of that court, to United States marshals along the line of the road to enlist deputies and use all possible means to capture the train at the earliest possible moment, restore it to the receiver of the road and hold the prisoners for riot. The attorney-general of the United States was also notified of the state of affairs and he reported the matter to President Cleveland. General Schofield, commanding the United States Army, was called into consultation with President Cleveland and it was decided to take immediate action. The result was the issuing of instructions to Colonel Swayne, commander of the department of Dakota in the absence of General Merritt, to use the United States troops at Fort Keogh, near Miles City, or at any other point on the line, for the capture of Hogan's forces.

Accordingly Colonel Swayne detailed Colonel Page, with six companies of infantry, two of cavalry, one Hotchkiss and one Gatling gun, to intercept the fleeing train at Fort Keogh, or before reaching that point.

In the meantime General Hogan and his companions, with one of the fastest locomotives on the road, were driving eastward from Butte City at a rate of from forty to fifty-five miles an hour, a speed which was never before made over the Northern Pacific in its mountainous section, and perhaps never upon any of the lines through the mountainous states of the West.

Another train of about one hundred United States deputy

marshals had been started from Butte in swift pursuit of the fugitive Industrials. When the latter stopped for the night of April 24, at the little hamlet of Columbus, formerly known as Stillwater, they were overtaken by the federal deputies, who demanded instant surrender. This was peremptorily refused, but as the deputies numbered only one hundred and the Commonwealers six hundred and fifty, no attempt was made by the former to enforce, by violence, a surrender. Early the following morning Hogan's train resumed its course, followed by that bearing United States Marshal McDermott and his deputies.

Both trains reached Billings at about noon of April 25, and were met at the station by an excited crowd, which contained nearly one hundred prospective recruits.

As soon as the deputies leaped from their train they made a rush for the Hogan forces. These, as well as the crowd of citizens, whose sympathies were unmistakably with the Commonwealers, sent up yells of defiance and the battle began. The crowd seized stones, brick-bats, and every kind of missile at hand and pelted the charging marshals. Simultaneously with this several of the marshals drew their revolvers and began firing into the crowd of mingled Industrials and citizens. Among the latter were many women and children. The firing continued for a few moments and one citizen was fatally shot in the head and some three or four of Hogan's men were wounded, but not seriously.

This infuriated the citizens and the Industrials, who continued the stoning, and in a few moments a portion of the deputies were disarmed, and all of them were compelled to beat a hasty retreat. One of the Chicago daily newspapers charged that the United States deputies were composed of the worst element in Butte, and that several of them were recognized as criminals and gamblers.

The victorious Hogan forces then boarded their train and pulled out of Billings at 12:45 p. m., having been furnished with the first running orders that they had received from the road.

The fleeing train reached Forsyth, Montana, at 10:45 in the evening of April 25, intending to remain there for the greater portion of the night. At about midnight, however, it was decided to resume the journey, and the engineer entered the roundhouse and selected a fresh engine. While this was being fired up and the army was engaged in making ready for the start a long train was seen approaching from the east at a high rate of speed.

Its mission was suspected by the detail of Industrials who were on guard, but before they could arouse their sleeping comrades the incoming train drew to a halt and a body of United States troops, under command of Colonel Page, made a charge upon Hogan's train and completely surrounded it.

Colonel Page's order for an immediate surrender was accepted. As United States prisoners and under escort of the government troops they were taken back to Fort Keogh. It was afterwards learned that Hogan had planned to stop his train before reaching Fort Keogh and surrender it into the hands of the government troops upon condition that he and his followers should be allowed to take up their march and proceed without molestation or interference. The authorities of the road have telegraphed instructions from New York that the leaders only of Hogan's party shall be prosecuted and it is expected that the rank and file of the men will speedily be released.

The unfortunate episode was not without its amusing features, one of which was the reply made by the under-sheriff of Yellowstone County, who was instructed by Division Superintendent Finn, of the Northern Pacific, to arrest Hogan and his men at Billings. Finn had once been defeated as a candidate for sheriff of the county, and the under-sheriff regarded the matter as a joke. The reply which he wired to Superintendent Finn, at Livingston, was as follows:

"BILLINGS, MONTANA, April 24.—County attorney and sheriff are out in Bull Mountains laying out additions to Billings. All of our ablebodied men are busy selling real estate. Stop Coxey's Army at Livingston.

W. L. RAMSEY,
Under Sheriff."

CHAPTER XXXI.

CAMP GOSSIP AT CHICAGO.

Any unusual movement invariably excites that body of men who are commonly denominated cranks, and the Chicago headquarters of the Commonwealers was visited by a number of these chaps, who by diplomacy were successfully handed and got rid of. A man who had gray whiskers and some ideas on reform visited the ladies' headquarters of the Commonweal and insisted on making a speech. The free offering of ideas by the stranger was not received with much enthusiasm and he finally concluded that he would have to look up other parties to impress with this scheme. He did not leave with a good grace, however, and went away muttering something about to the effect that greatness was never duly appreciated in its day and generation. Two or three queer looking customers called and announced that they were divinely called to succeed General Randall and lead the Commonwealers on to Washington and victory, but as they had nothing but their unsupported word to sustain their claims to the distinction they were prudently banished from the barracks. Some went with peculiar views all their own concerning great economic questions and, failing as they did to get the ear of the leader, they then vainly sought to impress their ideas upon the rank and file, whose patience had become exhausted. The new light visitors in no wise disturbed by a failure to capture an audience from the Commonwealers would appear to talk contentedly to themselves until commanded to move on.

The prospects of securing a train for the east were by no means encouraging to the Chicago contingent.

Several railroad men were seen, but they would not make "rates" with the Commonweal officers. The consequence was that the commanding officers of the army proceeded to carefully study out a desirable route across-country, apparently impressed with the idea that but little might be expected from that source.

If there was any disappointment as a result of this visit it was not shown by word or action. It was said by a number of the Commonwealers from the beginning, that the hope of the cause lay largely in the ability of the men to make the across-country journey afoot, with such assistance as kindhearted and sympathetic farmers might be inclined to give in the way of transportation.

General Randall never appeared to have the slightest doubt as to the securing of the requisite equipments for his journey from the people of Chicago. On Friday, April 26, he announced the following as indispensable for his outfit:

Five hundred "A" tents.

Twelve 12x16 wall tents.

One thousand haversacks.

One thousand canteens.

Sixteen camp kettles.

One hundred brooms.

Twenty-five shovels.

Four wagons and eight horses.

The full number of companies was practically completed Friday, the 26th, by the organization of G, H, I, and L Companies. The officers were: Company G, captain, E. C. Clark; first lieutenant, B. F. Neade; second lieutenant, J. Hartigan; first sergeant, Joe Gibson; first corporal, F. Fray. Company H, captain, C. Jackson; first lieutenant, Charles Anderson; second lieutenant, C. E. Bristol; sergeant, George Colman; first corporal, G. Smith. Company I elected Theo. Elliott, captain; Thomas Kelly, first lieutenant, and Charles Gerhart, second lieutenant. General Randall declared against too many companies, and announced that new recruits had to be placed in the organized companies.

Affairs at the camp readily settled down to routine work, and the order of the day, as observed, was as follows:

Reveille, 6 A. M.

Breakfast, 7 A. M.

Drill, 8 A. M.

Guard mounting, 12 M.

Drill, 1 P. M.

Supper, 4 P. M.

Retreat, 7 P. M.

Tattoo, 9 P. M.

Taps, 9:30 P. M.

An order that but two-meals-a-day should be served caused some quiet remonstrance in the ranks at first, but when it was learned that the supply would be ample and generous in all instances there was a ready acceptance of the conditions.

At noon of Friday 576 men were on the rolls and during that day drilling went on actively in the yards.

From the time the Commonwealers began to organize in Chicago the police officials had detectives among the good-roads men watching their movements. Assistant Chief Kipleby visited the barracks and made a personal investigation of what the Commonwealers were doing. All the meetings of the Coxeyites were closely watched by the police. It is creditable to the management that nothing improper or irregular was reported and that no bad characters were found in the ranks. General Randall declared he had not the slightest objection to the presence of detectives in the camp, but that on the contrary he wanted every thief and knave weeded out, if there were any present.

A poet developed early in the camp, hailing from Company E, his name being James Ready, and this was his first contribution in this line, which he announced would be sung along the march:

AFTER THE MARCH IS OVER.

A little darling coming three years old
Begged of his papa: Where do you go?
Why leave your mamma and us babies alone?
Why join the Commonweal and go so far from home?
We have a Congress now that is very slow;
Why I am going you will soon know.
I am going to pass two bills that will help the poor
And improve the highway after the march is o'er.

After the march is over,
After the first of May;
After these bills have passed
Then we will have fair play.
Many a heart will be happy
As to their homes they'll away,
For we will have no interest on bonds
After the first of May.

The women identified with the movement by sympathy earnestly and actively bestirred themselves to secure provisions, clothing and other necessities for the command. The female members of General Randall's household were especially active and it was announced that his thirteen-year-old daughter would accompany the command on the march to Chicago. The general was anxious in his desire that Chicago which has shown itself upon all occasions to be great in whatever it undertook, should display equal energy in the matter of raising and equipping a peace army. His faith that such would be the case was contagious and served to inspire all who worked under him to renewed effort. He claimed no special inspiration other than that which comes of pluck and strong conviction, but urged that this, with ordinary local pride, would be ample to carry the measure through. When he asked for tents and general equipments, including a horse for himself, he did so with a faith that appeared to be unshaken as the mountains, that he had but to ask and Chicago people would do the rest. Acting upon this assumption he proceeded with the inner work before him—that of organizing, drilling, caring for the immediate necessities of the men, etc. With no means of transportation in sight and with nothing secured in the way of equipage, he still had the courage to make public a determination to set out on a given day, less than a week ahead. This set purpose that has no seeming of varying, had a marked impression upon the men who appeared to regard him as one to whom difficulties could not present themselves which he was unable to overcome.

The local press gives much space to the doings of the Commonwealers, and while some were inclined to be somewhat facetious, still they gave pretty extended accounts, and made known all the official acts as well as many numerous doings and sayings. This course brought the movement directly before the whole people and greatly accelerated the work of enabling those in common sympathy to get quickly together.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE SENATE AND WASHINGTON.

The community at Washington suddenly awoke to the gravity of the situation, as the doings of a single day, Thursday, April 26, clearly indicates. There was spirited discussion in the Senate, opposing views being freely expressed, and final action on the Allen resolutions being postponed by a decisive vote. The city was full of rumors and much unrest was shown in all quarters. As one of the newspaper accounts put it, "Coxeyism is the all-absorbing theme of conversation and discussion at the National Capitol." Mr. Allen's resolution censuring the authorities of the district for proclaiming against the admission of the many armies now on their way to Washington was up for adoption or rejection and the result seemed a surprise to the author and introducer of the instrument. Mr. Allen began by saying that the resolution would not be opposed by the Democratic Senators. The vote, which stood fifty-four to six against it, proved that he was mistaken. The opposing views are given in order that an intelligent understanding may be had of the situation.

The debate was opened by Mr. Vest, of Missouri, who opposed the resolution on the ground that it was unnecessary. These people should be treated the same as all other citizens of the United States. If they did not violate any laws they would not be molested, but he deprecated the introduction of such a resolution, because it intimated a want of confidence in the institutions and the laws of the land. Their right to come here and visit the Capitol was so plain, so evident, that any suspicion about it was a reflection on the intelligence of the country. He was opposed to the preamble, however, if it meant to include these men who had trampled on the laws, injured private property, and undertaken to secure transportation to this city by force of arms, for then he emphatically dissented from it.

He declared that the men who were marching to Washington would be protected in their rights, but they would have to learn to abide by the laws of the land, and if Congress for one instant compromised with them it would open a crevasse which would

end in a flood and final destruction. If they wanted to come here, whether they were employed or unemployed, to inspect the public buildings and visit Congress, their rights would be respected; but when they seized trains to come on, when they violated the laws of the country and trampled on the rights of the people, Congress ought not to treat with them.

Mr. Wolcott (Rep., Colo.) entered a vigorous protest against passing the resolution. He was at a loss to understand the purpose of the resolution, which did not change the law in any respect, but simply extended a cringing invitation to those men calling themselves unemployed, some of whom were coming by begging, some by their overpowering force, and some on stolen trains.

The only excuse for such lawless action as had been recently enacted had been the utterances of men in high places holding office. Members of the Senate who had spoken of a servile police force and a paid soldiery seemed to think it proper to denounce in the Senate men sworn to do their duty.

It was to be regretted that the governors of certain states had been so unwise as to urge these men to make a descent on the Capitol of the United States. His own state of Colorado had the misfortune to have one of these governors, whose antics had brought discredit and dishonor on his commonwealth and sullied her fair name.

Mr. Wolcott said he was tired of dealing with these methods of administration. The times were out of joint, but what made them so might be attributed to one cause or another. He believed that most of the men in Coxey's army might be honest, but they were led by men who were cranks, insane, or vicious. Their methods of righting the wrongs of the time could result in no good; this could only come from the natural beneficence of mankind, which, as the world grew better, made men more human and kind.

There should be no man suffering for bread in this broad domain of the United States who was willing to work. There was today no man who sincerely desired to work for the support of himself and his family who could not get work or bread to put into the mouths of himself and his little ones until work could be found.

"I am tired of this talk of national demonstration," he said. "In Colorado today, crushed and humiliated as she is by the

action of Congress, I venture to say that no man is suffering because he can find no work or no willing hands to assist in supporting him until work can be found for him. I believe the time has come when those of us who are in public life ought to begin to cultivate more regard for the perpetuity of republican institutions and to pander less to that miscalled portion of the labor vote, whose labor is with their throats and never with their hands. It is time that we stood for American manhood, for the right of every man to work if he wants to, if it takes the whole army of the United States to enable him to do so.

"The right of every man is to enjoy equal liberty with every other man, and that means that he shall have such liberty as is not inconsistent with equal rights of his neighbor; the right to hold and enjoy the property which the laws of the country have enabled him to secure.

"It is time that we had the courage to stand together against this socialism, populism, and paternalism, which is running riot in this country and which must end, if not crushed, in the destruction of the liberties which the laws give us, liberties which should be dearer to us than life itself."

Mr. Dolph (Rep., Ore.) stated that he fully agreed with what the Senator from Missouri (Mr. Vest) had said, but he called attention to other objectionable features of the preamble to the resolution. No one denied the right of citizens of the United States to peaceably assemble to petition Congress or to visit the Capitol. His objection to the resolution lay in the fact that it was accompanied by a lying preamble which was in effect a censure of the authorities of the District of Columbia.

Mr. Gray (Dem., Del.) also condemned the resolution, even while he said he would vote for it if the preamble were omitted. He admitted that he had a kindly sympathy for the vagabondage which made our roads so picturesque in summer.

Mr. Allen defended his action in introducing the resolution, and spoke for some time. In the course of his speech he called these gatherings the "spontaneous uprisings of American citizens against wrong and oppression." He denied that it was a socialistic movement. Whether it were populist he did not know, because he did not know whether any populists were enlisted in it. It was, he said, a peaceable gathering of men engaged in a peaceable project.

"Does the Senator apply that to the Army of the Commonwealth which stole a train at Butte, killed two deputy marshals, and whom the troops of the United States are now trying to capture?" asked Mr. Wolcott.

Mr. Allen refused to be drawn on to this ground. He declared he was as warm an advocate of peace and lawfulness as any other man. He criticised the action of the commissioners of the District of Columbia in issuing a proclamation warning Coxey's army against entering the district.

At 1:45 o'clock, before any action had been taken on the resolution, Mr Harris moved to take up a resolution providing that tomorrow, and until otherwise ordered, the Senate shall meet at 11 o'clock in the morning. Senators Peffer and Allen objected to the pending resolution being misplaced, and demanded a ye and nay vote. The vote, which also showed the attitude of the Senate on Mr. Allen's resolution, was as follows:

YEAS.

Aldrich,	Hale,	Pascoe,
Allison,	Hansbrough,	Perkins,
Bates,	Harris,	Platt,
Berry,	Hawley,	Power,
Blackburn,	Higgins,	Proctor,
Blanchard	Hunton,	Pugh,
Brice,	Jarvis,	Roach,
Caffery,	Jones (Ark.),	Sherman,
Call,	Lindsay,	Shoup,
Chandler,	Lodge,	Teller,
Coke,	McMillan,	Turpie,
Cullom,	McPherson,	Vest,
Dubois,	Manderson,	Vilas,
Faulkner,	Martin,	Voorhees,
George,	Mills,	Walsh,
Gibson,	Mitchell (Wis.),	Washburn,
Gorham,	Morrill,	White,
Gray,	Palmer,	Wolcott—54.

NAYS.

Allen,	Frye,	Kyle,
Dolph,	Gallinger,	Peffer—6.

The friends of the Commonweal in the Senate are in earnest, and the matter promises to come up again at an early moment. Senator Allen is a very decided man in his convictions and one not easily overcome by obstacles. He has expressed himself as resolved to get a decided expression from the senators, and is likely to do so. The matter is also promised to be introduced in the house for action of some sort.

The press accounts of the situation at Washington, as sent out, indicate decided activity in police and general local quarters.

The District commissioner refused point blank on Thursday to permit the Commonwealers to hold open air meetings in Washington, the request being preferred by local managers of the movement. It had been expected by the enthusiasts that these meetings would draw converts and cash contributions for the cause. The refusal of the commissioners was based on a law that prohibits congregating on the public streets or parks, or engaging in loud and boisterous talking, and they state that they have no power to grant a permit.

The Coxeyites are angered at this refusal, declaring the law never was intended to apply to orderly speechmaking. They point to the Salvation army meetings which are held in the streets, and to the sidewalk services of itinerant evangelists as instances of non-observance of the rule.

An event of Thursday was the advent of Citizen George Francis Train, who predicted that the country is on the verge of the biggest revolution the world has ever seen, and that the Jeff Davis matter will not be an item in comparison with it.

The authorities in charge of the Capitol building have about reached the determination to formally surrender their authority to the District of Columbia and ask that a sufficient protection be given by the police force of the city. This step was deemed desirable owing to the small force of Capitol policemen. The latter are paid by Congress, and there is no way of increasing their number. It would take too long to get through an appropriation bill for extra officers, and it has been found that the contingent fund is not available for this purpose.

Major Moore, of the city police force, promised ample re-enforcements if necessary. But this is not accepted as entirely satisfactory. It is not yet determined that the Capitol building will be turned over to the protection of the city authorities, but

one of the officials of chief authority says events are rapidly tending to that result.

An Odd Fellows' procession attempted Thursday to march through the Capitol grounds, but the marchers were met by Capitol police, who barred the way, refusing to permit the invasion. The police explained that the law prohibits any organization as such to parade the grounds, and that no exception could be made. The Odd Fellows made some remonstrance on account of the fact that their march benefited the grounds, and that it would be difficult to turn about in the street, as the procession was long and included several carriages; but when assured that the law permitted no exceptions they quietly submitted and retraced their steps. The incident will doubtless be used as a precedent if Coxey attempts to invade the Capitol grounds with his organization, as he has announced it his intention to do.

Sergeant-at-Arms Snow, of the House, took precautionary steps on Thursday, the 26th, for the protection of the big cash lockers containing the pay of Congressmen during the coming influx of Coxeyites. At Mr. Snow's request, Captain Garden, of the Capitol police, arranged to station an armed officer outside the door of the office throughout the day. Another officer will sleep alongside the huge safe through the night. The supply of cash kept on hand will be reduced to the bare necessity of the office. Mr. Snow expects to have a lounge put in the office and sleep there himself.

Conservative sentiment at Washington is that no attempt will be made by the Commonwealers to make any infraction of law, and that if their leaders will hold them together and no strong accessions be made from the hordes of hoodlums that always infest eastern cities, no apprehension need be felt. But Coxey's statement at the outset of his announced purpose that his movement would excite national interest has been abundantly verified already. The president and his cabinet have considered the subject as one worthy their serious thought and care, the matter has been brought to the notice of one branch of Congress, and it is the one absorbing theme of conversation on the streets. Meanwhile the various armies, now upward of thirty, are steadily but surely progressing toward the Capitol.

George Francis Train, the irrepressible, came to grief on the day following his arrival at Washington. He talked too much and he failed to procure the license required for public speaking.

He apparently was greatly pleased at the notoriety acquired by his arrest, and was hopeful of languishing in a dungeon deep, but an unsympathetic police refused to comply, and, instead, took Mr. Train to the police court for immediate trial. Thursday night he delivered a lecture. The formality of securing a license, a necessary incident in the District of Columbia, was not complied with, and Friday the police swooped down upon Mr. Train and put him under arrest for violation of the license ordinance. Mr. Train demanded that he be taken to a police cell and incarcerated. The request was refused, and the police took him straight to the police court, which was in session, to await there his turn for trial.

Judge Milner refused to make a martyr of George Francis Train, and dismissed the charge against him.

Train is in no sense identified with the Coxey movement, and the incident is given only as showing what kind of individuals are likely to show up at such times.

Train says that he advocated this Coxey idea a year ago; that it is all his scheme and that "Coxey is cackling on my eggs."

The best evidence of the vagaries of the man is shown in the following extract from his speech delivered the night in question: "Last summer, when I was in New York, I got a telegram from the Board of Directors of the World's Fair asking me, if my expenses were paid, would I come out and save the Fair. I did not say I would go and I did not say I would not go, but I did say to send on my expense money and I would send an answer. The money never came. Then came a telegram from the White-chapel Club in Chicago: 'For God's sake, come out and save the Fair.' You will remember that that time the Directors were losing over twenty thousand dollars a day. I replied that God could take care of His own business and I would take care of mine. But I went. What was the result? The first thing I did was to drive a coach down the Midway, in which were seated six red-headed girls, and six white horses drew the coach. What happened? The attendance sprung up until it was a quarter of a million a day. How did I do it? I simply exerted this force of mine which I hold in my hand, and the world had to obey."

To one familiar with the situation at Washington there is something grotesque in the pronouncement issued by the commissioners of the district. Those gentlemen complained that the City of Washington has few industries of any sort, consequently

no great revenue, and it is hardly capable of taking care of its own poor, much less to assist in any movement for the support of a party of visiting citizens such as the Industrial Army.

It is true that the district has, as the commissioners assert, almost no industries. It is equally true that there is little provision in the City of Washington for the assistance of anyone in distress; but it is not less true as well that, with the exception of the little principality of Monaco, there is no more richly endowed or pampered city on the face of the globe than this capital of the United States. Let us take the facts as they are, and it is just as well, as a matter of general information, that they should be known to every citizen.

Generally speaking, the City of Washington may be described as a great park, through which are scattered huge public buildings and palatial private residences. The land is held mostly by wealthy men, who came to that city simply as a preferred place of residence. The streets are as well kept, almost, as the floor of a drawing-room. Its public service in all branches, if imperfect anywhere, is so only because of the inefficiency of those in charge at any particular time. It is brilliantly lighted and well supplied with water, and in all respects a luxurious and magnificent place of abode.

How is it that Washington is such a place of comfort and of luxury? The natural response would be that, since it is an aggregation of rich men living at ease, they have taxed themselves to make it what it is, as they can well afford to do. The real answer is not quite that. Here are the facts:

Under the law and custom as it stands the City of Washington is made, almost exclusively, by the people of the United States. This is the rule: Whatever those gentlemen, who own Washington in a legal sense, choose to tax themselves is necessarily the municipal appropriation to make the city beautiful and capable of providing for all contingencies, and surely if any town in the United States should show patriotism in this regard it is the favored National Capital; but there is more to come, and this is the nub of everything. Whatever Washington chooses to tax itself is immediately supplemented by an appropriation of an equal sum from the treasury of the United States. In other words, to the amount given by the citizens of Washington is added a sum equivalent to whatever they choose to tax themselves in order to have

the city wealthy and well provided. This is the law and the rule. Where was ever city so bountifully bestowed before? The whole country is taxed to provide Washington just twice as well as any other city in the country is provided. There is not a man in all the marching Industrial Army who has ever paid a cent in taxes in one way or another, who has ever done a day of earnest work, who has not assisted, or is not now assisting, directly to pay for whatever exists in the public property in Washington. There is not a man in these armies who does not absolutely own today a portion of the steps of the Capitol, about which so much has been said, who does not own absolutely a portion of every bit of green-sward in the city's public grounds, who does not own a portion of every petal of every flower among those which bloom so generously and at such expense on every side about the public grounds of that brilliant city.

This is the town regarding which it has been suggested by the commissioners of the District of Columbia that a group of peaceable American citizens have no right to visit and to wander through in such numbers as they may choose as long as they are peaceable and violate no laws!



A GROUP OF COXEY MARSHALS.



MRS. NILE C. SMITH.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The following are editorial expressions of some of the leading journals in the United States in regard to the Commonweal movement. The Chicago *Inter Ocean* had this to say under the heading of "The Commonweal's Liabilities:"

It is perhaps fortunate that the Montana division, which seems to be the most turbulent, of the Commonweal army, has encountered so strong a personage as Uncle Sam in its first fray.

One thing must be understood from the rising of the curtain upon the drama of the Commonweal until the going down thereof, and that is that the laws must be obeyed. So long as the so-called armies march in peace no marshal, bailiff, bumbailiff, or potentate of higher or lower degree has right to molest them; the sky, the air and the highways are open to all. A thousand men have just as much right to travel in company toward Washington as one man has to travel alone; and as one man is free to elect whether he will travel on foot, on horseback, or by train, so are a thousand men. But as it is true that if one travel by himself on foot he must wear his own shoes, pay for his meals and eke for his lodging, unless he elect to sleep out of doors; so it is true of a thousand men. Furthermore, as it is true that if one man travel on horseback or by rail he must use his own horse or pay his fare on the cars, so it is true of a thousand men.

"There is, of course, the alternative of begging or "beating" one's way, but as it is true that either of these methods subjects one man to arrest on a charge of vagrancy, so it is true of a thousand men.

"But in some parts of the country the alternative of beggary has not been necessary. The people of their own free will have brought provisions to the wandering bands, have furnished them with teams for transportation, and have made speeches of wel-

come and Godspeed on their arrival and departure. In doing these things the people have exercised indisputable rights. Their sympathy may have been wisely or foolishly bestowed, but whether wisely or foolishly concerns none but themselves.

"So long as the Commonwealth armies march through friendly regions all is well. When they reach unfriendly regions the best thing they can do is to disband. At this point the misnomer of "army," as applied to a voluntary association of pilgrims, becomes apparent. An army is a body of men trained for war, potent to levy exactions upon a hostile country. The companies of the Commonwealth become misdemeanants or felons whenever they attempt to levy exactions. Except when in sympathetic territory they must buy, beg, or steal. To beg is a misdemeanor; to steal is a felony.

"The Montana division already has passed into the felonious stage, and as its felony is against property in control of the United States, the property feloniously taken has been rescued by troops of the United States. It may be well that a display of national power has been made at so early a stage of the performance.

"The pilgrims have well-defined rights, in the exercise of which they can claim protection, but they are surrounded by equally well-defined limits, in surpassing which they expose themselves to just penalties."

The following expression of the Chicago *Evening Post* is among the most critical and severe published by any paper. It is headed "What is Coxeyism?"

The movement which has been termed 'Coxeyism' is an act of hostility against the Government of the United States. Its object is subversive of constitutional principles. It is an attempt to overawe Congress and to reach its ends by terrorism and violence.

"Coxeyism' requires of congress that which cannot be granted by any lawful exercise of congressional power. It is revolutionary in its demands and purposes. Its cry of 'on to Washington' is inspired by a determination to procure by an act of congress through a display of force, by mob intimidation, a distribution of the contents of the public treasury, without any service rendered or other consideration in return.

"In 1861 the rebel army of Beauregard marched on Washing-

ton as the capital of the nation, where congress was in session, for the purpose of seizing the city and the public buildings and other property belonging to the nation and looting the national treasury. The further object of the rebels was to force from the national congress a treaty of peace and separation, including a division of the national property.

"The object of the 'Coxeyites' is substantially the same. Their intent is to wrest from the terrorized representatives of the people the objects of their extravagant and lawless claims and pretensions, gifts from the treasury, national grants and unconstitutional laws for their benefit and aggrandizement.

"It is possible that those possessed by the aberration of 'Coxeyism' do not understand the public effect of their demands, and what is involved, except to the extent that they expect to obtain subsistence, financial aid and transportation from congress, as they have been promised by the zealots and agitators who instituted the movement.

"But the vicious partisan republican press, which is encouraging the 'Coxeyites,' inflaming their zeal, exciting their courage, assisting their recruiting service, urging their march and suggesting the demands that they shall make on congress, is knowingly guilty of the sedition to which it is accessory and is morally accountable for the calamitous consequences which may follow."

The Chicago *Times* passes upon the rights of the Industrials in the following language:

"The United States army, which is not so very much bigger than the so-called army of the Commonwealth, is now in possession of 'Gen.' Hogan's five hundred train-stealing invincibles at Forsyth, Mont. Just what the real army will do with the make-believe army is difficult to tell, but at any rate Mr. Hogan's exploit in the line of land piracy will prevent his rallying with Coxey at Washington, and therefore dashes his hope of being a factor in the regeneration of society by the device of good roads, paper money, and death to interest-bearing bonds.

"This is entirely as it should be. There are two fundamental principles bearing upon this industrial-army agitation, the truth of which cannot be gainsaid. One man, three men, three hundred men, or three thousand men have a right to proceed in orderly fashion along the highways of this nation whither they may wish to go. They have an inalienable right to pass through villages,

towns, and cities if such lie in their path. It is the opinion of the *Times* that, if abstract right alone be considered, they have a right to pass over toll roads without the payment of toll, for a toll road is undoubtedly an unwarrantable invasion of the inalienable right of free use of a public highway. They have the right to go to the nation's capital and present there, in orderly fashion, any petition, however ridiculous, they may desire to offer.

"So long as the industrial armies exercise only these rights, and do so without resorting to violence or theft, any interference with them by police, militia, or regular troops would be unwarrantable and would justify resistance.

"But on the other hand, the essence of the right of the Commonwealers to march lies in their doing so peacefully and in their respecting public and private property. If they forage on the surrounding country they must be punished as other thieves would be punished. If they steal a train they must be captured and held to answer for the crime. The grievances of the class they represent—and they have many grievances—cannot justify recourse to violence as long as the orderly processes of law and the ballot afford hope of a remedy. Nor can the notorious, the shameful, and execrable fact that many men in high social station have stolen railroads, plundered corporations, bribed legislators and courts, ground the happiness, the hope, and the life out of the people to be coined into dollars for their own fat pockets, justify a single act of violence or outlawry on the part of those who now rise in protest.

"The *Times* knows that it is out of tune with its contemporaries, but the note which it has struck is one of entire sincerity. It has no word of denunciation or of ridicule for the men who in a vague, uncertain way are seeking a vague, uncertain remedy for ills which are neither vague nor uncertain. In a spirit of sympathy, of friendliness for those men, we urge upon them the vital necessity of maintaining absolute peace and order in their ranks. There is a remedy in the ballot box, and until that remedy has been sincerely sought no other should be tried. The lesson taught by history, the history of our own time, is a lesson which the Commonwealth should take to heart. It teaches that violent attempts to redress the wrongs of a class only increase the subjection of that class. A crime committed in however good a cause allies all the orderly, law-abiding elements of society in

antagonism to that cause, and the orderly, law-abiding element in American life holds the whip today, though it does not always use it at the proper time."

The Chicago *Dispatch* states its position as follows:

THE TRUE POLICY.

"The attitude of the *Dispatch* toward the Commonwealth movement is too plain, we trust, to be mistaken. It simply holds that it is an unwise policy to dam the flood of discontented humanity that is sweeping on to Washington. It believes that this movement would be only augmented by opposition, so long as the marchers remain strictly within the limits of law and order. Whatever influence this paper can bring to bear upon this movement shall be exerted constantly in the interest of peace, order and good citizenship.

"We believe it is a mistake to treat the industrials as tramps, criminals and professional idlers. Their ranks are made up of workingmen who have been forced into idleness and reduced to the verge of starvation through no fault of their own. Chicago has been feeding a Coxey Army all winter in the guise of a "broom brigade." These men have been out of employment for many months and see no chance for an improvement in their condition so long as they remain inactive. They are peaceable, law-abiding citizens, but they have borne adversity uncomplainingly as long as they can. They must do something.

"There seems to be but two courses of action open to them—a revolutionary uprising, with a policy of physical force, or a peaceable demonstration which shall induce Congress to devise means to relieve the popular suffering and distress. The former means anarchy, and it can never be tolerated in this country in any form for one moment. The latter may succeed; but it can only do so under conditions which may as well be clearly understood at the outset. Every feature of the Commonwealth movement which in any way, directly or indirectly, is antagonistic to the principles of American self-government or the maintenance and full protection of all property rights must be stamped out whenever and wherever it appears. Anarchists, incendiaries, professional agitators and improper characters must be rigorously excluded from the industrial ranks. Everything which savors of lawlessness and disorder must promptly be suppressed.

"Within these lines the *Dispatch* will insist that the Commonwealth shall be given fair play. But it indorses none of the visionary, chimerical ideas of the various industrial leaders. It would be the last to originate a Commonwealth uprising or to advise such a movement. At the same time it believes that, since the industrial revolution is an accomplished fact, and thousands are already on their way to the capital, and cannot be prevented from going there, it is the part of wisdom to acknowledge existing conditions and to strive to prevent lawlessness and bloodshed, which would follow unwise and ineffective opposition to the peaceable progress of citizens across the country.

"Chicago workingmen have a direct, personal interest in this matter. There are several thousand unemployed men in this city who, without homes or families, want to go to Washington. Will any true friend of labor kindly explain how the local situation would be improved by keeping these men here in idleness on an already overstocked labor market? Will anyone explain what advantage would result from heading off Kelly's command of two thousand men and preventing them from leaving Chicago? Is not the proper policy in this emergency one which places no obstacle in the paths of these men? From the standpoint of Washington, perhaps, Chicago should stop this human flotsam and jetsam here, but the *Dispatch* is for Chicago and Chicago workingmen first and the rest of the country afterward."

"Coxey's Lesson" is made the subject of the following comment in the *Chicago Mail*:

COXEY'S LESSON.

Trouble is the badge of the Coxeyites all the way from Montana to Maryland. The Hogan army is behind bars and waiting for trial for robbery. The Kelly army is hopelessly split into warring factions. The southern divisions are becoming riotous. The local anarchists are pushing to the front in the Chicago contingent. Coxey's army is accompanied by shell-workers and monte-dealers, who are harvesting a rich crop through sleepy Maryland.

"In fact, no matter where one examines the Industrial Army, disaster, distress and dissension mark its course and signal its presence. The men who have been led into the movement are suffering and disappointed, the leaders are in despair, and the

communities upon whom this plague has been inflicted are naturally indignant at the wrong done to them and the loss they have sustained.

"The movement is an utter failure. It can produce no results. Its end is exactly what every sane man in the country plainly foresaw. But Coxey will not have produced this gloomy farce in vain if the lesson that his collapse teaches is duly learned.

"Nothing could be more clearly proven than that assemblies of men marched across the country with no definite object in view effect nothing save loss and heartburning and calamity."

The *Omaha Bee*, under the caption, "Let the Army Move On," says:

"At the mass meeting of citizens in Council Bluffs yesterday resolutions were unanimously adopted demanding the withdrawal of the militia that has stood guard over Kelly's noncombatant army, and calling on the Iowa railroads to transport the army to Chicago or other eastern cities. Both requirements are eminently just and timely. There was really no necessity for calling out the militia of Iowa any more than there was for calling out the militia of any state through which the army had passed on its way from the Pacific coast. The emergency under which alone the calling out of the militia would have been justified did not exist. There had been no riot and no resistance to the lawful civil authority. There had been no threats of violence or destruction of property, and if there had been the law officers of Pottawattamie county would have been able to prevent any very serious disturbance.

"The position taken by Judge Hubbard that the railroads cannot transport these men to Chicago without laying the roads liable for whatever damages these men may do is preposterous. If the Iowa roads are liable, the California roads and the Pacific roads assumed a great liability when they carried the army eighteen hundred miles through half a dozen states.

"There are vagrancy laws in almost every state, but who could enforce them under present conditions? If the Illinois anti-tramp law makes railroads responsible for carrying men without visible means of support, it would take a good deal more machinery to enforce the law upon the railroads than it does to enforce the interstate commerce law and the other laws that railroads are habitually ignoring.

Suppose somebody should raise the money to pay the full fare of Kelly's Army to Chicago, or any other place, would any railroad company decline to carry them for fear of violating the vagrancy laws? Not much! As soon as the money was planked down there would not be a word said about liabilities for damages. We do not contend that the roads are obliged to carry these men, or anybody else, without pay, but, viewed from this side of the Missouri, the course pursued over in Iowa toward Kelly's men appears disgraceful and idiotic. The militia bill already exceeds the cost of feeding and transporting the Pacific coast tramps, as Judge Hubbard calls them. They cannot surely remain at Council Bluffs. Somebody will have to foot the bill to move them eastward. One thing is certain, Kelly's men are not disposed to go back to California if they were offered free passage, and the only thing that can rationally be done is to let them move on so long as they behave themselves."

The opinion of the *Chicago Record* is as follows: "Whether or not the various Commonwealth armies succeed in getting near the shadow of the Washington monument, it seems certain that they will fail at present to achieve anything other than a general excitement of public and politicians. Even in the improbable event of their making trouble they will only succeed in getting themselves suppressed.

"But it is not impossible that their pilgrimage may have a far-reaching effect which the Commonwealthers neither intended nor foresaw. It may establish a precedent. Hereafter when any considerable body of men, having no money, decide that they want a special favor at the hands of Congress they will be likely to remember Coxey and his march. Coxey will have demonstrated that Commonwealth marches are at least perfectly feasible.

"It would be interesting to foresee, if possible, whether this is to be the chief result of Coxey's labors. Absurd as the prospect seems, it is not unreasonable. If it should come to pass the national and state legislatures would have a merry time of it in dealing with 'petitions in boots' presenting themselves on all manner of topics and for all sorts of objects."

The foreign press also has opinions upon the movement: "The *Daily News* says the danger in the Coxey movement lies in the important characteristic of the American treatment of every social disorder. If it comes to a conflict with the militia the

Coxeyites will probably be mowed down by hundreds. There is no danger to the government. The movement looks like a last desperate device of the protectionists. The *Chronicle* says the American people are coming face to face with the Nemesis attendant on their easy-going lassitude, which has handed over the world's greatest republic to the tender mercies of unscrupulous politicians and syndicates of millionaires. A conflict is preparing that will be almost as serious as that which arose over slavery."

The *Temps* says: "Society in America lies upon such broad foundations that what would lead to a general revolution elsewhere is only a rapid skirmish in America."

Briefer opinions are as follows:

Kansas City Times: "It is to be hoped that some plan will be devised to remove the cause of the disorder. The cities concerned ought to do their part and the railroad companies their part in the premises. That would be cheaper and better for both than a resort to force, for by that process both will suffer, and the loss, if it be of life, will be irreparable. But something must be done to prevent recurrences of such scenes, even if it is necessary to invoke heroic remedies."

St. Paul Pioneer Press: "We serve notice on the law-abiding people of this country, the men who believe that a man has a right to own property, including the poorest day laborer as well as the richest millionaire, that it is about time to begin demonstrating that this is a government of law, and that the United States is not wholly given over to anarchy. Such outbreaks as those at Omaha are too significant to be passed over quietly. They are far more dangerous for the present and alarming for the future than a desperate deed like the murder by anarchists at Chicago. They announce the weakening of all moral restraints in the people, a corruption of fundamental honesty, a spread of pestilential and disorganizing heresies, that cannot be ignored or passed over as a chance ebullition of local feeling."

Minneapolis Journal: "The 'Commonweal' business is becoming a very decided nuisance, if not a peril. * * * The commander, General Kelly, deserves no credit for declining to put his men on a train stolen from the Union Pacific. He captured one train in Utah and feloniously used it as far as Omaha. He, himself, has conjured up the spirit of lawlessness in Iowa

and it is no wonder that he begins to advise caution, for the situation is certainly grave. It is unfortunate that the 'Commonweal' tramps have been given so much aid and comfort. The people have fed fuel to the spirit of insubordination, garbed and tricked out with the symbols of patriotism. There is no patriotism in the movement, and it would be well for Congress to give notice to the oncoming hordes that it can not and will not do anything for them, or countenance in any way the foolish crusade."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

WHAT THE CONDITION IS.

The story of the Coxey movement, as brought down to the present, with its many possibilities of more extended dimensions, is one which is not likely to perish in a day, or soon take its place among the forgotten things of the past. The army of peace, moving with its banners eastward, is not only exciting universal attention, but is also calling out criticism and opinions from every class of American citizens. There lies before this Commonwealth, composed as it is at present of numerous divisions in various parts of the country, a serious problem when it reaches the city of Washington. The question has been asked, and asked again, "What is Congress going to do about it?" Equally earnest has been the inquiry, "Will the leaders be able to hold their forces in peace and order, and will the 'living petition' exercise any direct influence over national legislation in the direction called for by the Coxey bills?"

Much misapprehension naturally arises from an imperfect understanding of Coxey's attitude, as explained by himself. He has again and again announced that his purpose is to exert a moral influence only over Congress, by means of the presence of large numbers of the unemployed of the country, and the presentation of his "living sacrifices" in attestation of the truth of his claims that the necessities of the people demand more money and employment for the poor.

It is denied by the leaders that any part of their purpose, as has been frequently stated, is to endeavor to march the peace army through the Capitol grounds, and to the very doors of Congress in session. There is a law which forbids the passing of a procession through the Capitol grounds, but there is no statute or ordinance violated if any body of peaceable citizens should feel inclined to march to the east side of the Capitol, up to the very portals of the imposing building, there being a public highway

and square facing that side of the edifice. It would be competent for the Commonwealth to designate a committee to wait upon Congress for the purpose of officially announcing the presence of the body in the city, and stating the cause of their assembling; and it would be within the province of Congress to say whether or no it would receive such committee, and if so, in what manner and where. As stated, however, the leaders reject any such suggestion, alleging that their mission is confined to the mere coming together at the seat of government, there to remain in passivity, and patient awaiting for the effect of their presence to be felt by the representatives of the people in the national assembly. It is the expectation of the Commonwealth, as announced by Mr. Coxey and other leaders, to hold a mass-meeting upon the steps at the east side of the Capitol during the stay of the Commonwealth. Mr. Coxey claims that the representatives of the people have the same right to meet there as the president-elect to be inaugurated upon that historic spot.

In the march across-country, with one notable exception, no violations of the law have been reported, and uniformly the men have shown themselves tractable and subject to the orders of their superiors. While at many points extra police precaution was taken, and in many country places grave fears had been excited, results have shown that these were unnecessary; and it is confidently predicted by the leaders that the same order and discipline will be maintained indefinitely. Predictions have been freely made that when the goal is reached, the disorderly elements in the large cities of the east may take advantage of the situation, and, flocking to Washington in large numbers, bring disrepute, if not disintegration, upon the Commonwealth. This is met by the latter with a pointing to its record, and the declaration that every law-breaker will be promptly turned over to the authorities for punishment.

The question of commissary supplies does not appear to have given the Commonwealth any very serious thought or care, there appearing to be a thoroughly-grounded sentiment that the people, the great body of the American people, will not suffer the crusaders to lack for food, raiment, or shelter, however long their stay may be in Washington. This was the spirit that animated each Commonwealth party when it started out upon its long journey, and events thus far have justified its expectations. The experiment

of a great body of men moving through an immense territory like this, getting its supplies of food by means of free contributions, and, finally, getting together for the purpose of influencing legislation, being an untried one in this country, has naturally caused wide interest, and just as naturally, possibly, given rise to many predictions as to the outcome. Such men as Governor Hogg, of Texas, and Governor Llewellyn, of Kansas, have set their seal of approval upon the legality of the various proceedings, while all the governors, with one exception, of the states through which the Commonwealers have passed, have, by their silence and inaction, confirmed the legality of the proceedings. Statesmen at Washington have been giving expression to their views touching the wisdom and expediency of the movement, but they are by no means united as regards these points, any more than they are as to the final outcome.

Probably not less than twenty-five expeditions are now on foot in as many parts of the country, while others, as at Chicago, are rapidly organizing with a view to the strengthening of the present forces.

The question of camp ground or camp grounds at Washington has already been settled. Senator Stewart, of Nevada, and other prominent gentlemen at Washington, have consented to the occupation of unimproved property to this end. The promise is made by the leaders that the discipline of the camp shall be firm, and every infringement of rules will be properly punished. The magnitude the movement has already assumed is a matter of surprise to all, especially to those who are not in sympathy with it. That which was regarded at the first as an amusing joke has become a most grave matter to the people of the entire country. This is clearly indicated by the representatives of the people in Congress, as well as their statesmen in Washington, who, after long silence, are now speaking. Still, it is manifest that its immensity has not yet fully impressed itself upon the minds of many at the national capital. There has passed away the desire to ridicule the objects set forth by the father of the movement, for the people have reached a point where they realize that, whether reasonable or unreasonable, determined bodies of men are resolved upon presenting the proposed measures to the ultimate of peaceable means.

Many cities and towns have taken prohibitory measures or

adopted resolutions condemnatory of the passage of the moving bodies through their respective municipalities; as is noticeably the case in Chicago. Nevertheless, the army of Kelly moving may reach the latter city, as other bands have passed through prohibitory cities, and the problem is yet to be solved whether the mandatory order at Chicago will be any more effective than that elsewhere, or than it was when made by the governor of the state of Iowa.

The latest reports from Washington indicate that the administrative authorities are beginning to make ready for meeting the responsibilities which may grow out of the gathering of the Commonwealth. It is advised by the officers of the War Department, that Coxey's men be treated as free citizens, who have a right to enter the city and remain in it as long as they are obedient to the laws of the country. General Schofield has been directed to remain in Washington, in anticipation of any emergency. The sentiment of the majority of the members of the Senate, as reported by press correspondents, is that the advice of the War Department shall be followed by the local authorities. The result of interviews with nearly fifty of the Senators, is that the Commonwealthers are clearly within the law in their movement upon Washington. The health commissioner has announced that he will meet the various arrivals on the district line with a corps of assistants and examine every person, to see that he is free from disease, and upon the discovery of any contagious disorder will quarantine the entire body until all danger shall have passed.

As the result of the approach of the forces, the Capitol officials have begun to be more stringent as to admissions to the Senate gallery, permitting only such to enter as have cards of admission, and fresh ones must be had upon each separate visit. This order is applicable to the Senators' wives and other members of their families, as well as to the general public. It is stated that a similar order will prevail in the House at an early date. Woodley Park, which immediately adjoins the summer residence of President Cleveland, has been tendered to General Coxey for occupancy by his army, and he has accepted the same; the owner having offered it free of charge for an indefinite period.

Reports received at police headquarters, at Washington, show that the growth of the several armies is more rapid as they converge nearer to the National Capitol, the aggregate number of Com-

monwealers being nearly seven thousand; this embraces but twelve of the moving bodies. The authorities quoted express the opinion that the number of the Commonwealers will swell to exceedingly large proportions, if there are no difficulties in the way of securing sufficient food at Washington. There is no likelihood of Federal troops being brought before the scene at Washington, so it is semi-officially stated, unless the local police are unable to properly handle the matter. There is undeniable evidence that the concern already expressed at Washington is growing in intensity as time passes, and that the success which has followed the movements of the Commonweal up to the present has afforded great encouragement to the discontented in the various towns and cities of the Union who are likely to follow in the footsteps of those who have gone before.

The action of the Hogan body, in Montana, undoubtedly has tended to increase the anxiety of the timid, but it may be stated that he is repudiated by the Commonweal and has no part in it. There is fear in many quarters that the times are portent of serious results; on the other hand the leaders of the movement express themselves in confident terms of their ability to keep their forces well in hand, and they assert with positiveness that as the mission is a peaceful one, so all the results will be peaceable. The story of the Commonweal's rise and progress has been told faithfully and the issues resultant from the present restlessness in the future.

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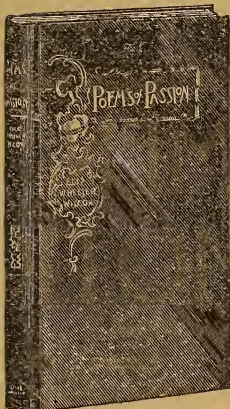
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